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HISTORY  
OF  
GREECE.

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HISTORY OF GREECE.

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THE

# HISTORY OF GREECE.

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## CHAPTER I.

Geographical outline and divisions of Greece—Early inhabitants—  
Pelasgi—Hellenes—Amphictyonic council—Settlement of tribes—  
Dorian migration.

GREECE, anciently called Hellas, the land of poetry and philosophy, falls as far below the nations that surround it in extent, as she once rose above them in all that in ancient days was good and admirable. It contained, even in its physical characteristics, indications of the varied nature of its inhabitants, and the scenes which were there enacted. Small as Hellas was, its picturesque coast, its rugged shores, and highly cultivated inland valleys, foretold, as it were, the rude nature of some, and the polished civilization of others of its possessors. Bounded on the north by Epirus and Macedonia, countries not strictly considered by the Greeks as united to their body, its most northern province was the extended vale of Thessaly, whose singular fertility was sheltered and surrounded by the lofty ridges of Pindus, Cæta, Pelion, Ossa, and Olympus. The pass between Olympus and Ossa is an outlet for the water of the Titaresius, which, with the Apidanus and other streams of Thessaly, falling into the Peneus, is by it borne through the romantic

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glen of Tempe into the sea. On the west stretches the country of Acarnania, separated from the mountainous, but not unfertile Ætolia, by the river of Achelous, so celebrated in the fable of Hercules and the story of Alcmaeon<sup>1</sup>.

Pursuing our track along the Corinthian gulf, we notice the Ozolian or Western Locrians, with the towns of Amphissa and Naupactus; eastward is Phocis, which boasted the once oracular cavern of Delphi; Dryopis and Doris extend to the borders of the Thessalian mountains, and are commanded from the south themselves by Helicon and the lofty mountain of Parnassus, the fabled haunt of the Muses, whence sprang that Castalian fount, whose draughts the ancient Greeks believed were the sources of poetical inspiration. From the shores of the Corinthian gulf, (the gulf of Lepanto,) to those of the Euripus, were the alternate hills and dales of Bœotia, whose plains were small, but of great fertility; it was separated from Phocis and Doris by Parnassus and Helicon, while it was divided from Attica by Parnes and Cithæron. Its principal river is the Asopus, which, having collected the waters of Phocis, enters by the pass of Elateia, the only northern entrance to Bœotia, and falls into the Lake Copais. In the southern portion of Bœotia were the towns of Thebes, Thespiæ, and Platæa. As from its central position it was calculated to be, so in fact Bœotia was, the scene of most of the memorable struggles which occur in Grecian story. Northward of it dwelt the Opuntian and Epicnemidian Locrians; and hard by was the southern border of Thessaly, the pass of Thermopylæ, for ever rendered memorable by the fall of Leonidas and his small but courageous band. — Separated by the Euripus from the main land is the island Eubœa (Negropont), important from its position and fruitful produce, and possessing from its own tall mountains a view of Bœotia and Thessaly, of Othrys and

<sup>1</sup> Thucyd. ii. 102.

snow-capped Olympus. The last country of Northern Greece might well claim from its history a longer notice, but its soil was not so fruitful as that of the neighbouring countries, and its boast was more of men and deeds, than of wood and plain. Attica was a rocky province of triangular form, bounded on the north by Bœotia, on the south by the Ægean and Saronic gulf, which separated it from Peloponnesus. Still it had "Sanium's marbled steep," the brooks of Cephissus and Ilissus, and Eleusis, the scene of the celebrated mysteries.

The peninsula, which bore the name of Peloponnesus, in our day that of Morea, lies to the south of Greece, and is connected with it by a neck of land, called, from the chief city there, the Isthmus of Corinth. The great mountain chain of Greece is continued through Megara, the Geranea, and Corinth, and expanding thence, forms the central province of Arcadia, and branches of the mountain extending on every side divide the rest of the peninsula into Achaia, Argolis, Laconia, Messenia, and Elis. Arcadia itself is of varied character, possessing deep valleys and lakes, ravines and forests, mountain ranges and elevated plains. Its chief towns were Tegea and Mantinea. The narrow tract to the north of Arcadia was Achaia, with its twelve towns. Sicyon, and the luxurious city of Corinth, piled on a lofty rock, succeeded, and Argolis, in a south-eastern direction, follows; a peninsula in form like Attica, and similar also in the character of its soil. Laconia to the south, with its bold promontories of Tænarum (Matapan), and Malea (now St. Angelo or Maleo), boasts the fertile valley of the Eurotas, and the ancient city of Lacedæmon. Messenia to the south-east, and Elis with Olympia, so celebrated for its games, and the bank of the Alpheus to the east, complete Peloponnesus.

A few words on the islands that surround it will complete our description of the geography of Greece. In the Ionian sea, which washes it on the west, lies

Corcyra (Corfu), not strictly bordering on Greece, but Epirus, and opposite Acarnania and Elis, lie Cephalonia (Kephalaria), and Zacynthus (Zante). Off Cape Malea, in the Cretan sea, is Cythera (Cerigo), to the north-west of the large island of Crete (Candia). The Sporades, containing Rhodes and others, are to the north-east, and the Cyclades to the north-west, of the same island. Of these last, the most noted were, perhaps, Delos, Naxos, and Melos. Lemnos, Thasos, and others, are on the coast of Thrace, while Lesbos, Chios, and Samos, with others of less note, are on that of Asia.

Such were the divisions of Greece in ancient times ; yet, though separated into these numerous provinces, the whole extent of land is far less than Portugal, while the sea-coast, so varied is its outline, is more than double that of France. Still Hellas boasted of scenery superior to that of countries of larger extent ; and a climate so pure, that the marble of the Acropolis at this day dazzles the eye of the modern stranger, whose fathers' works are, in his own land, crumbling to decay around him.

To trace the early history of a nation, involved, as it generally is, in fable and obscurity, becomes far more difficult when we cannot look to other nations connected with them in peace or war, as at least our partial guides. We cannot gather the earlier history of Greece from other countries, as we can that of Britain and Gaul from Rome. Indeed, so essentially opposed were the original tribes to other nations, that, as it has been observed, one and the same term denoted equally a stranger and an enemy. Thus it is from the Greeks alone that we can gather any thing of Grecian story, and mingled as the traditions are with much that is fabulous or mythic, it is a work of deeper research than this can claim to be, to unravel a thread so tangled and confused. The most we propose to do is to give an outline of the opinions of others concerning the original tribes, their settlements and customs.

The earliest inhabitants under one name were Pelasgi; a people whose origin is but little known, but whose settlements are supposed to have extended both in Europe and Asia. Tradition has preserved the names of other tribes of different origin, occupying parts of Greece in early times. Thus to Attica came Cecrops the Egyptian; Danaus, from the same country, to Argos; and Perseus was the real or supposed origin of an oriental element in the Grecian population. The name of Hellenes, afterwards adopted as the general denomination of the Greeks, originally belonged to a people of the north of Thessaly; that these were a Pelasgian tribe, though it has been asserted by some, is denied by one of the greatest modern authorities<sup>2</sup> on ancient history. That of these Hellenes there were several tribes, viz. the Dorians, Æolians, Ionians, and Achæans, and these extended gradually over the whole of Greece, appears, whether we receive the fable of Deucalion and his son Hellen, from whom sprang Dorus, Æolus, and Xuthus, the father of Ion and Achæus, or admit the reality of the personages, and their abode in Thessaly. It is impossible, even granting its use, in such a work as this to discuss the truth of either position. We assume that these were early tribes of the Hellenes; that in the rich and fertile land of Thessaly their riches and their numbers increased; and the princes, growing in power day by day, by conquest or marriage, became rulers of most of the districts of Greece, to whose inhabitants (mostly Pelasgians) they imparted Hellenic manners, language, and institutions<sup>3</sup>.

And now, while noticing the growth of the Hellenic race, through intermarriages of tribes, we must not omit to mention altogether the famous Amphictyonic

<sup>2</sup> Niebuhr.

<sup>3</sup> It is, however, against this theory that the name of Hellenes in this extent was unknown to Homer, who calls the Greeks Argeians, Danaans, and Achæans; the name Hellenes being confined to those who came from Phthiotis with Achilles.

council. The fact that its members bordered on each other, leads to the conclusion that its basis was locality. Another tradition names Amphictyon, the son of Deucalion, as the founder of the league. Its original members were the Ionians, Dorians, Perrhæbians, Bœotians, Magnesians, Pithians, and Æninians. Twice every year in early times they met at Delphi, while afterwards these assemblies were regularly convened at Delphi and Thermopylæ. But in whatever light we regard its immediate origin, there is no doubt that it was based on the contiguity of the inhabitants, that those were originally dwellers in and around Thessaly, and that among its effects were the closer union of neighbouring tribes, and the gradual increase of the Hellenic power.

To Homer we stand indebted for what we know of the Heroic age; its chief features being agriculture, and the cultivation of the olive and vine, while the nobles were the owners of the soil, and an hereditary king presided over every state of Hellas. Intercourse was frequent between Greece, Phœnicia, and Egypt eastward, and Italy and Sicily to the west; a martial spirit produced frequent warfare and plunder between neighbouring states, while in times of peace, music, poetry, and dancing, were held in high estimation. It is from the same great poet that we learn of the protracted siege and downfall of Troy, B.C. 1184, which is remarkable as being the first great enterprise of the united Greeks.

The Dorian migration, commonly called the return of the Heracleids, which occurs B.C. 1104, is the next event of great importance to be noticed. If we relate briefly the mythical account of this movement, and then compare it with the combined accounts of Herodotus and Thucydides, we shall have a short but consistent view of the whole.

Alcmêna, the granddaughter of Perseus, from whom sprang the royal line of Argos, bore the hero Hercules to Amphitryon, the grandson of Perseus. Thus the

children of Hercules claimed from their father the right to the throne ; but, as poets tell, he had been deprived of his birthright by the queen of heaven, and his children suffering persecution from Eurystheus, a cousin of Hercules, and on the throne, were at length by his hostility driven from Peloponnesus ; taking refuge with the king of Trachis, and he being threatened by Eurystheus, they sought and obtained the aid of the Athenians ; Eurystheus, invading Attica, is slain by Hyllus, a son of Hercules, who leads the Heraclids into Peloponnesus. But the anger of the gods is manifested, and the movement declared premature. After the third generation, the grandsons of Hyllus, Temenus, Aristodemus, and Cresphontes, with the assistance of an Ætolian chief, Oxylus, as ordered by an oracle, cross the Corinthian gulf ; but, Aristodemus being struck dead, his two sons, Eurysthenes and Procles, took his place ; and these, having defeated Tisamenus, son of Orestes, in battle, acquired the greater part of the Peloponnese. The division they made was, to Cresphontes, Messene ; to Temenus, Argos ; while Lacedæmon fell to the sons of Aristodemus, Eurysthenes and Procles ; and to Oxylus the Ætolian, who had assisted them, was assigned the country of Elis, while almost all Achaia and Arcadia remained in the hands of the old inhabitants.

Now Thucydides, speaking of the Bœotian migration from Arne, tells us that it happened sixty years after Troy was taken, and that it was caused by the Thesalians attacking the Bœotians, who themselves seized the Cadmeid territory, from that time called Bœotia.

Herodotus, when referring to the movements of the Hellenic and Doric race, says they migrated from Phthiotis to Ossa and Olympus, hence to Histiaëotis, and from thence were expelled by the Cadmæans. After this they dwelt in Pindus and Dryopis, and finally in Peloponnesus. If we combine these two accounts, we may gain a not very inaccurate outline of the movements which preceded the last and greatest



revolution in Greece. The Bœotians, expelling the Cadmæans, caused the attack of the latter on the Dorians, who, after changing their seats as above, crossed into Peloponnesus. Of the royal line, the representatives were now Eurysthenes and Procles, who gained, in the division of the conquered land, Lacedæmon as their kingdom, the earlier institutions and customs of which shall form the subject of another chapter.

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## CHAPTER II.

The Colonies—Sparta, and its Constitution—Lycurgus.

CONSEQUENT in great measure upon the Dorian migration was the colonization which gradually spread as far as the Ægean, and even the Mediterranean and Euxine seas; a short sketch, therefore, of these colonies is necessary. Conquest by invaders, civil discord, commercial advantages, maintenance of dominion in a conquered country, and poverty connected with the increase of population at home, are among the causes of colonization, and many of them operated in Greece.

The Achæans, when vanquished by the Dorians, themselves invaded Ægileia on the Corinthian gulf, and defeating the Ionians, who retreated to Attica, gave the name to and possessed Achaia. The expelled Ionians were connected in race with the inhabitants of Attica, and there, for some time, they remained. Others of the Achæans are said to have wandered to Eubœa, and northward to the coast of Thrace, and to have occupied the islands of Tenedos and Lesbos. Their towns in Asia Minor were twelve in number, of which Cyma and Smyrna were the most noted, and collectively were called Æolia. So, too, fifty years

later, the Ionians, for press of room in Attica, followed their example, and with some Bœotians made themselves masters of that part of Asia Minor which belonged to the Lelegians and Carians; these too numbered twelve cities, the names of which were—Miletus, Myus, Priene, Ephesus, Colophon, Lebedus, Teos, Clazomene, Phocæa, Samos, Chios, and Erythræ, and joined in possessing the Panionia, one of those common festivals, which served as a bond of union among the Greeks.

So also the Dorians of Hexapolis sprung from the Dorians of Epidauria, Argos, and Trœzen, and they had the common festival to the Triopian Apollo. Thus from the Hellespont to the border of Lycia, nearly three hundred English miles, Grecian colonies were flourishing within a hundred and twenty years after the supposed date of the capture of Troy. Besides this, the coasts of Macedonia and Thrace were occupied by Grecian settlements, the Ionians of Miletus sought the shores of the Propontis and the Euxine, while Sicily and South Italy were the seats of colonies, chiefly of Dorian Greeks. Cyprus, and even Egypt received them, and Cyrene was a flourishing Grecian state on the coast of Libya. The connexion between the colony and the parent state was held most sacred. The colonists bore with them a portion of the sacred fines from the council-hall of their native city. The tutelary deities of the old country were invited to accept abodes in the new, and temples and altars were erected, whence offerings were sent at religious festivals to the mother-city; and if the new state colonized in its turn, the leader of the colony came from the original mother-country.

An account of the early institutions and customs of Lacedæmon and Athens, necessary as it is to Grecian history itself, is also useful as leading the way to the narrative of succeeding events. When the Dorians had invaded Peloponnese, the victors had still much to subdue: it is not unlikely that, though the seats of

the divided government are rightly said to have been Laconia, Argos, and Messene, the more moderate portion of these lands contented the invaders, who, being small in number, probably entered on the territory of the retired Achæans. Thus in Laconia itself three distinct classes prevailed; the highest of these being that of the Dorian conquerors, next were the Laconians, the inhabitants of Laconia, and the Pericæci, whose towns lay round Sparta, the centre as it were of the territory. A slight tribute paid to the state was the chief exaction from these last; and though intermarriage with these being forbidden kept the castes for ever distinct, and a share of the government was never allowed them, their heavy-armed troops always formed a portion of the Lacedæmonian army. One other class, so distinct that it cannot be named in parallel with the above, was formed by the Helots, a race of serfs, whose name according to some indicates their original dwelling-place Helos, or according to others, their state of slavery<sup>4</sup>. They belonged to the state, occupied allotted portions of land, served as light troops in the army, were the tutors of the Spartan boys, and had the way open to them of freedom, and even citizenship. Gross as is the exaggeration of the accounts of their slavery, their lot was certainly not enviable; and the massacre of them even in later times proves too truly how completely their life and happiness were at the disposal of their Dorian lords. Still, though there were cases of unlimited cruelty, where power was absolute, as in the middle ages and down to our own day, these may not unfairly be supposed to have formed rather the exceptions than the rule.

The dominant class, as it has been said above, in Laconia, was that of the descendants of the conquerors, named, from the town which they all inhabited, Spartans. These were the owners of the land, and for-

<sup>4</sup> As derived, according to some, from *ἑλω*, to take.

bidden to practise any trade or art, save that of war. The Laconian territory had been divided into 30,000 smaller and 3000 larger lots; the former belonged to the Periceci, the latter to the Spartans, who cultivated them by their Helots. Gymnastic exercises, being their frequent occupation, conduced to the high military attainments which always distinguished them. An adherence to ancient manners and customs was among the characteristics of the Dorian race,—a not unnatural feeling among those who prided themselves on their old lineage, and their triumphant return to the territory of their forefathers.

All the Spartans (kings not excepted) joined the syssities, or public meals, to which each member in turn contributed the simple food which formed their sustenance. The education of their youth was admirable in principle, as their destruction of the weak and deformed was horrible in practice. Left till the age of seven with their parents, the state from that period provided masters to educate them in Dorian principles, and train them to those military accomplishments by which they might maintain and defend those principles. The Spartan government was an oligarchy; though it has been remarked, if we look to the Dorians alone, it as much resembles a democracy.

At the head of this government stood two kings, who claimed, as has been related above, descent from Hercules through Eurysthenes and Procles. As their lineage was from heaven, their authority was supreme in religion; they took precedence at the sacrificial feasts, and appointed the Pythii, or persons sent to consult the oracle; they presided in the senate, and beyond Laconia their power was unlimited. At their death a general mourning took place in Laconia, and a suspension of all public business marked the national calamity.

The gerusia, or council of elders, consisted of twenty-eight men who had reached the age of sixty years, who, elected by the popular assembly, held

their high office for life, and deliberated with the kings on public affairs. They acted as judges in criminal matters, could punish with degradation or death, and were the censors of the morals in general.

The Dorian people, or the Spartans, possessed the legislative power : they were divided into three tribes, and each of these possessed ten phratries, each of which consisted of certain houses (*gentes*) composed of various families. Every Spartan who was thirty years of age, and had not been publicly deprived of his rights, belonged to the popular assembly, or *Halia*, which was held every full moon in the open air. This assembly decided on questions of war or peace, and on laws and changes in the constitution, but could only deliberate on what was laid before it by the government, and was not able to originate any propositions.

The most remarkable magistracy at Sparta was the Ephoralty, the origin of which is ascribed by some to Theopompus, and by others to Lycurgus, but it was not improbably coeval with the state, though the power of it varied at different times. Resembling the tribunate at Rome, and, in their increased power, eventually like the council of ten at Venice, they were originally but a body of five magistrates, appointed to decide on civil matters among their fellow-citizens. The Ephori sat every day in their court in the Temple of Fear, censors of morals, and overseers of education. All magistrates, even kings, were obliged to render them an account of their office, and it was in their power to remove or punish them even with death. Senators alone were free from the control of this formidable body. Representatives of the people, and chosen originally as the defenders of their liberty, in course of time they gained a power almost despotic, and the more intolerable because, as is related, the method of election was bad, and frequently the office filled by persons little adapted for it by character or ability.

Political constitutions, like physical ones, are gradual

in growth; and when in earlier ages there has existed some conspicuous legislator, men in after-times are apt to ascribe to him alone what has resulted from many persons, and at different periods. Such not improbably was the case with regard to the famous Lycurgus. That such a man existed is never denied, or that he was the author of much reformation in the Spartan constitution; but it is not so certain that every thing which is attributed to him ought rightly to be so. It is, however, sufficient for us that the events took place; and as in our own day many of our Saxon institutions are the imputed work of Alfred, so must the reform at Sparta still remain in conjunction with the name of Lycurgus.

Polydectes, the elder brother of Lycurgus, dying without children, he succeeded to the throne; but the widow of the late king gave birth shortly after to a son, whom his uncle introduced to the magistrates as the king of Sparta. He named him Charilaus, *i. e.* the people's joy, and finding the queen-mother opposed to him at home, he travelled to Crete and Ionia, Egypt and Libya. Missed as he was at home, he was recalled, and, with the sanction of the Delphic oracle, introduced, after a short period, his changes in the constitution.

To him is ascribed the institution of the gerusia or senate; but his greatest measure was his division of the land, and equalization of property. His was the division of the country into the 30,000 and 3000 lots; and prohibiting gold and silver coin, and introducing the less costly and more cumbrous, iron, he removed alike the mean and motive to accumulation. Thus also he successfully opposed foreigners in trade, the greatest opening to the ministers and incentives of luxury. He instituted the syssities, and established regulations regarding marriage, and the education of youth. To him also is ascribed the crypteia, of such ambiguous character; the stern school of discipline, according to Plato, whose wish, perhaps, was father to

his thought; or, according to Aristotle, the cruel instrument of tyrannical oligarchy; and his assertion must be the more relied on, when we remember, from his praises elsewhere<sup>5</sup> of Lacedæmon, that his bias, if any, would be in favour of the more lenient interpretation.

Thus did Lycurgus remodel Sparta and improve on the hardihood of the ancient Dorians, by inculcating rigid, inflexible virtue, to the rejection of vice and vicious pleasures; and then, having obtained an oath from them that they would never alter that constitution till his return, he became, and continued ever after, a voluntary exile from his country, till he died at Crete, where in earlier days he had studied the Dorian constitution. From his earliest childhood the Spartan felt himself an integral part of the national whole; felt that the nation was proud to own and educate him in the stern path of duty and strict allegiance to his country's laws; while she, on her part, knew that this was the best, in fact the only way, to have those laws maintained in force, and transmitted to her children's children. Yet the perfection which he aimed at was limited, and almost entirely warlike; and thus the good points of the Lacedæmonian character lead us only the more to notice and regret the bad; for their love of praise, their fear of shame, their passive obedience at home and in battle, that spirit which in war rendered the Spartan phalanx irresistible, was, alas! more than counterbalanced by those feelings of avarice and jealousy, so ably pointed out by the profoundest of ancient historians. At home, the law was the mere rule of right; towards the Helots, uniformly cruel and treacherous; in their external policy they were grasping, selfish, and ungenerous, and so profligate, that, in the words of Thucydides, they held things pleasant to be honourable, and things profitable to be just; yet, however vicious as a whole, their individual patriotism and fortitude

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Ethic. Nicomach.* i. 13, x. 10.

was great; and we cannot withhold the greatest praise from their famous lawgiver, who had greater difficulties to contend with, but fewer means than any since his time of opposing them.

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### CHAPTER III.

#### *The Messenian Wars.*

THE same cause which clothes in obscurity the early history of Sparta, namely, the want of letters, equally prevents our knowing any thing for certain concerning the original state of the Dorians of Messene. Cresphontes, who had married the daughter of an Arcadian prince, being too much disposed to favour the Achæans, fell by the hands of his Dorian subjects. His youngest son Æpytus escaped, and afterwards recovered his father's throne, and from him the royal line derived the name of Æpytids.

After the Dorian conquest it was not till three centuries and a half had passed, that the enmity began which found its issue in those wars of which we proceed to give a short account. Laconia, now fully established as a kingdom, and its creed being conquest, began to look with jealousy upon the fertile plains of the more peaceful Messenians. Whether this was really the actuating feeling of the Spartans or not, other causes are assigned of very different nature. An outrage by the Messenians on some maidens when keeping a festival in the temple of Diana was said by the Spartans to be the primary aggression. The temple was on the confines of the countries, and the Lacedæmonian king Teleclus was slain in attempting the defence. The Messenians, however they allowed the death of the king, could yet prove their own innocence by the fact that no satisfaction was ever



demanded for the royal blood by the Spartans, conscious as they were of the guilt of the original injury. Another cause of enmity is said to have arisen from some commercial intercourse between a Spartan, Eucephnus, and a Messenian named Polychares. The treacherous dealing of the first provoked the Messenian, who seized every opportunity of injuring the Spartan. When the surrender of Polychares was demanded by the Spartans, a division took place between the two Messenian kings, and the advocate of the cause of Polychares being successful in the contest, offered to refer the decision to the Argives, or the court of Areopagus, but refused to give up the accused. Silence on the part of the Spartans was succeeded by the death of Antiochus, the king of Messene. No declaration of war was proclaimed, but, bound by an oath never to rest till they were masters of Messene, the Spartans made an irruption into the country, and seized the town of Ampheia. This event opened the way for the first Messenian war, which began B.C. 743. Three years were spent in continued descents by either party on Laconia and the country of Messene. Euphaes, who had succeeded his father Antiochus, summoned his people to battle, and after but a slight engagement, the Spartans, seeing the security of the position of the enemies, retired from the field.

Feeling, however, that their conduct had been as unlike their institutions as it was unsuccessful, the Spartans again invaded Messene; but the resources of that country were ebbing fast: the slaves had deserted in numbers, and a contagious disease, adding itself to the surrounding evils, drove the Messenians from the plains to the forts on the mountain Ithome. An oracular command delivered to Euphaes, the purport of which was the offering of a virgin of the blood of the Æpytids for the welfare of her country, was fulfilled by the act of Aristodemus; and the Messenians now fully relied on divine aid, while the

same cause tended to lower the confidence of their enemies.

Six years having elapsed, and a battle having taken place in which Euphaes was killed, leaving no heir, Aristodemus, stained by the blood of his child, was, despite the warning of the soothsayers, elected to fill the vacant throne.

His judicious management of affairs, added to the help of allies, gave Messene a signal victory. The oracles, as was usual in such cases, were appealed to, and the conquest promised to the donor of a hundred tripods to the temple of Zeus Ithomates. This was accomplished by a Spartan in disguise, and the downfall of Messene was at hand. Signs and prodigies foretold it: the shield of the statue of Artemis fell from her hands, and the victim prepared by Aristodemus died without being offered. The form of his virgin daughter appeared at night to Aristodemus, and foretold his death and his country's fall.

Smitten with sorrow for the death of his daughter, which had thus been of no avail, he slew himself on her grave, unwilling to survive the ruin of Messenia, which followed a few months afterwards in the surrender of Ithome, which was the termination of the first Messenian war (B.C. 723).

The conquest of Messenia is the event which more than any other determined the character and the subsequent history of Sparta, and appears to have been connected with some important changes in the constitution, concerning which however it is difficult, and perhaps useless in such a work as this, to collect the traditions. There can be little doubt that the conquered land was divided among the Spartans, but it is uncertain whether among old citizens, or those just admitted to the franchise. Most of the conquered inhabitants retreated to Argos, Sicyon, and Arcadia, while those that were left behind were reduced to the worst state of Helotism.

Thirty-eight years of slavery gave birth to a new

generation, and the standard of revolt was raised, and the second Messenian war begun, B.C. 685. The Messenians, chiefly led by Aristomenes, a valiant youth of the race of the Æpytids, first met their conquerors and oppressors at Deraë. No important consequences followed. Aristomenes was offered, but refused, the kingdom, and the Dorians, sending to Delphi, were ordered to fetch a counsellor from Athens. With a jealousy unworthy of them, but which failed now, and recoiled on them in the third Messenian war, the Athenians sent a poet named Tyrtaeus, who was lame in person, and of no high reputation for wisdom. Their expectations were in vain. Arcadians, Eleians, and Argives, joined the Messenians against the Spartans, who were aided by the Corinthians. Tyrtaeus aroused the Spartans to deeds of daring, and the soothsayers of the great goddesses did the same to the Messenians. Aristomenes with a chosen band beat back the Spartans with their king, but pressing too far in the ardour of pursuit, and neglecting the advice of Theocles the soothsayer, he lost through the Dioscuri his shield which he had dropped. This he afterwards recovered at the cavern of Trophonius, and soon after he took and plundered Pharæ in Laconia. Conquered and seized in an attack on Ægila, he was miraculously delivered from thralldom by the goddess Demeter. Some time after this, the Spartans gained by bribery, as recorded by the leaders of the Arcadians, a victory which they found they could not accomplish by other means. Aristomenes retired to Eira, and with this for his head-quarters, did much mischief with his chosen band in his excursions on the neighbouring lands. A famine at Sparta produced sedition, the evils of which were prevented by the strains of the Athenian minstrel. The courage and perseverance of Aristomenes were unabated; he seized Amyclæ, and retreated before aid could arrive for the Spartans; but, rashly continuing to scour the country, he was made prisoner with fifty of his followers.

Thrown with them into the pit called Kaias, he did not, like them, meet with his death. Supported by an eagle he arrived unharmed at the bottom, and an escape from the pit, as miraculous as his descent, set free their daring enemy, to the dismay of the before exulting Spartans.

Ever treacherous in its dealings, Sparta seized the brave Aristomenes, who relied on a truce which they themselves had made, to celebrate the Hyacinthia; but their dastardly act was defeated, and a maiden set the hero free from his guards. But the end of Messene was at hand. An ambiguous oracle which foretold its fall was fulfilled. The citadel was betrayed through a woman of Messenia, who added to the guilt of her country's ruin, adultery with a Spartan fugitive slave. Through him the citadel was seized: the valiant resistance of Aristomenes effected a safe retreat; but he left Theocles dead among the last champions of liberty, whose dying prophecy was, that Messene should not always belong to its present conquerors.

Aristomenes, though vanquished, was unsubdued; and, received by the Arcadians, he planned an attack on Sparta: but the design was betrayed to the people of that city by the king of Arcadia, who met by stoning the death he deserved for his treachery, and his body was refused the rites of sepulture. The people of Pylos and Methone, who had left their country for Cyllene and Elis, invited the Messenians to colonize: the invitation was received with joy; and their plan of seizing Zacynthus for the purpose of harassing the Spartans, or of moving farther westward to Sardinia, was put a stop to by a proposal from Anaxilas, king of Rhegium in Italy, to join with him in an attack on Zancle.

The Zancleans were conquered, but united with their conquerors, and the town from thenceforth, B.C. 580, was called Messana, the name which, slightly altered (Messina), it bears to this day.

Aristomenes did not join the colony, but Damagetes, espousing his daughter as that of the bravest man of Greece, the hero of Messene retreated with them to Rhodes, and the evening of his days was passed in that tranquillity which their meridian splendour had never experienced.

It needs but little penetration to trace the semi-mythic character of these Messenian wars. The leading facts, though they need not be doubted, rest only on the authority of Pausanias, who probably derived them from poems and questionable traditions. The outline may be true; the details must be received with caution; still there is much to interest; and if Aristomenes the Messenian hero did not live in person, there must have been Messenians as brave as he, whose combined valour is thus represented through him as an individual.

The power of the Spartans, from this period, was the greatest in Peloponnesus. Partial conquests of Arcadia, and the districts round Cynuria, extended their sway after the conquest of Messene, and it was not till some time after, that the third war which derived its name from that country took place. Our history, which shall afterwards allude to this, must now return to other events.

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## CHAPTER IV.

Early state of Attica—Cecrops—Theseus—Early tribes—Codrus—Archontate altered—Draco—Cylon—Megareans—Solon—Epimenides—The Crissæan War.

WE mentioned above the tradition concerning Cecrops, which records his arrival in Attica from the Egyptian Delta, 1500 years before the birth of Christ. This, however, is of no more authority than others of a similar date; and, in attributing to him the early civilization of Attica and the foundation of Athens, we do

but follow those historians whose aim seems to have been to bring credit to their fabulous histories by awarding to individuals what was probably the work of many. It rests, perhaps, on scarcely higher authority, that Theseus, the reputed Alfred of Attica, gave it such admirable institutions, that throughout the convulsions which followed the return of the Greeks from Troy, this country alone remained tranquil and flourishing. The fact is so, however, from whatever cause it sprung, whether from the nature of its soil, or the political customs of the inhabitants; and that those customs were of a nature conducive to such tranquillity is far more evident, than that Theseus really existed, or was the title of some one or more mythical legislators. To understand the nature of the institutions attributed to him, we must say a few words on the early tribes of Attica. A fourfold division of the population is the first we find recorded, viz., into Geleontes or Teleontes, Hopletes, Ægicoreis, and Argadeis or Ergadeis, castes like those of India or Egypt, and established by Cecrops from his native country: by the Argadeis others understand the cultivators of the plain; by Ægicoreis, the goat-herds of the hills; by the Hopletes, the military; and by Teleontes, the sacerdotal owners of Eleusis, and its district. By Theseus, these were divided into Eupatrids (or well-born), Geomores (cultivators), and Demiurgi (workmen). These phyles were subdivided into phratries and houses, not unlike the *curiæ* and *gentes* at Rome. An union of the tribes, but unattended by any migration, took place under the same king: the courts and chief privileges of the smaller towns were abolished. Attica became united with Athens as its head, the city itself was enlarged, and its institutions were decidedly aristocratical. Codrus, the last of the kings, fell, 1068 B.C., in battle with the Dorians, and though the kingly office was continued to Medon his son and their descendants, under the title of Archon, it became an accountable

magistracy, and its period, from being for life, was changed after some time to that of ten years. The guilt of Hippomenes, an archon of this description, afforded a pretext to the Eupatrids to open the office to more families; and when once a concession had been made, the archontate was soon reduced in power and authority as well as period, and its duties were at length divided among nine persons yearly elected from the body of the Eupatrids; of these one was the archon of the year, a second was called the king, whose duties were chiefly those sacrifices which had before been the privilege of the monarch. The third was the polemarch or general, while the remaining six were thesmothetæ or judges. Thus were the regal prerogatives divided thenceforth among nine responsible magistrates.

The kingly authority being thus transferred from one to a number of individuals, and those belonging to one and the same class, the highest in the state, it will be readily conceived that power so exalted became sullied by those aggressions too often recorded of classes standing in a similar position to that of the Eupatrids. Nor were the aggressions of the nobles on the weaker classes, the debts thence derived, and the sufferings of the debtors, the only evils which Athens suffered at this period. The same principle which led to these, namely, the exalted but equalized power of the Eupatrids, naturally opened the way to factious struggles between parties ambitious of taking the lead in the constitution. Such disorders as these required some remedy; but the penal code of Draco, B.C. 624, who was called to legislate for Athens, was so immeasurably severe, that as every crime was treason against the state and capital, few were prosecuted or convicted, and guilt, except the highest, went unpunished.

Twelve years after the legislation of Draco, the nobles were threatened by an outbreak, headed by one of their own body. One of the highest families

at Athens was that of the Alcmaeonidæ, whose predominance was little tolerated by a noble of the name of Cylon. Encouraged by a marriage with the daughter of Theagenes, tyrant or prince of Megara, by victories at Olympia, the recognized sign of divine favour, and lastly, by what he deemed an encouraging response from the oracle, Cylon, aided by some troops from Theagenes, seized the citadel of Athens. But his aim at the tyranny was frustrated, and Megacles, the archon of the year, and an Alcmaeonid by birth, besieged the Acropolis. Famine induced the flight of Cylon; but the massacre of some of his followers, who clung to the altars, and left them only on the promise of life, was deemed such an act of impious perfidy, that all concerned in it were banished as accursed men. Many indeed returned, but their descendants, even two centuries afterwards, however high their station, bore the stigma of their grandsires' crime. Used, as it doubtless was, for party purposes, and therefore aimed at the highest individuals, it still shows the keen perception the Greeks had of the unwritten laws of good faith and honour.

Draco is said by Aristotle to have altered no part of the political constitution; but as he himself was a noble, and yet called upon to legislate generally, the drift of his laws was, in the main, in conformity to the interests of the ruling class, and their object to check and overawe that feeling among the inferior grades, which gave rise at first to his legislation. Such a state of things could not long continue; but before we relate the great changes which shortly took place in the constitution, we must give an account of the author of the change, and the events which brought him into notice. The Megareans, who had gained possession of the island of Salamis, held it in such firm possession, that the repeated efforts of the Athenians to recover it were so useless and harassing, that death was decreed to any one who proposed a renewal of the war. Solon, a young man, and a



Codrid by descent, was willing to incur his country's anger to work that country's good. In a pretended frenzy he recited a poem to the assembly, the purport of which was to rouse the people to renew the war. The feeling which could not have been aroused by sober argument, or rhetorical harangue, discovered itself in the temporary enthusiasm which followed. The decree was reversed, and Solon himself led an army, which soon returned victorious after the reduction of Salamis.

The right of the Athenians being still questioned, it was referred to five Lacedæmonian arbitrators, and Solon being spokesman, the island was finally adjudged to the Athenians. Nor did his zeal for Athens only manifest itself in military exploits. Solon counted the loss of Salamis, great as it really was, a light evil in comparison with the evils which distracted the state. But now that the prominent misfortune to the minds of the mass was removed, he aimed at the remedy of greater evils; and if what he now achieved was less splendid than his exploits as a general, the advantages he conferred were more real, more lasting, as a legislator. Previous, however, to giving a summary of the changes introduced by Solon's legislation, we must mention a character connected with him, and also of great reputation.

The evils of Salamis and war, and the troubles of the state, seemed to the Athenian people so much evidence of divine wrath: and Epimenides, a soothsayer from Crete, was invited to purify the city. A friend of Solon's, and looked upon as a being of superior nature, the augur added to the dignity of priestly seer a mysterious birth; and fables, though they probably arose from his voluntary seclusion, increased the awe with which he was regarded. To these qualities he joined the practice of poetry and prophecy, and the greatest outward austerity of life.

His visit to Athens was, as might be supposed, chiefly passed in religious rites, which, regarded by

all with superstitious awe, were calculated to allay the fears of the people; and if some of his regulations were not wholly foreign to religion, they were still deeply imbued with political principles, suggested perhaps by Solon himself; who thus, through his friend, opened the way for his own institutions, by a safe road, namely, that of superstition. Profuse expense in the worship of the gods was restricted, and funerals were to be conducted with more decent, because less extravagant, signs of grief. Slight as these may seem to us, as political measures, Solon deemed them of importance; and finally Epimenides left Athens rewarded for his good work with the offer of gold, which he would not accept, and loaded with the honours and tokens of gratitude showered on him by the Athenian people. One boon alone he asked and obtained, and that was a branch of Athenes' sacred olive, her gift when she claimed the land as her own, and a decree of friendship between his city Gnosus, and the country which, having so greatly benefited, he was now leaving.

Much as Epimenides had done to calm the troubles of Athens, there was need of more real changes, and of new principles more deeply rooted, henceforth to be the guide, as the foundation of the constitution. For these, as has been said above, all eyes turned to Solon.

It was during the Crissæan war that the philosopher and statesman entered upon, and completed his last great work. The origin of the war had been the unwarrantable duties exacted by the Crissæans from the pilgrims travelling to Delphi. These had to pass through the fertile plain of Phocis, possessed by the Crissæans. In course of time the taxes being augmented, produced complaints from the Delphians, who found the number of pilgrims in consequence reduced, to the infraction of the Amphictyonic decree, which declared Delphi accessible to all without expense. Aggression on Delphi, and a sacrilegious attack on the

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temple, added to the slaughter of the inhabitants, required at last the interference of the Amphictyons.

Discussions and struggles succeeded, till, after ten years, the Crissæans were enslaved, and a curse pronounced on any who cultivated their territory, which, in consequence of Solon's interpretation of an oracle, was from that time dedicated to the gods.

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## CHAPTER V.

### 'Solon's Legislation.

It has been well remarked, that at this time the nobles of Athens probably regretted that their ancestors had abolished the regal dignity; nor were they, though from different reasons, alone in their opinion. The poorer classes found that the change, as far as regarded them, had been from one to many lords; and the rich were divided into rival parties, and actuated by opposing principles.

Solon's legislation, of which we now proceed to give a short account, was designed to counteract these evils, to check the aggressions and contests of the rich, to alleviate the sufferings of the oppressed, and to remove, if possible, thenceforth, the chance of Athens ever again becoming a kingdom.

In the year before Christ 594, Solon effected the first great change which brought the constitution nearer to a democracy. He had been recommended by his friends to acquire the tyranny of Athens, and there is little doubt that their project was feasible; but little ambitious of temporal power, his aim was the lasting good of his country, and his reward was an approving conscience, and the admiration of posterity. The first thing to be done was to remedy existing evils; the next, to prevent their recurrence. To alleviate the distresses of the commonalty was the most urgent of his tasks, and to do this, he introduced his celebrated measure of *seisachthy*, or disburdenment.

The old law of debt was repealed. Hitherto a debt once incurred was the first link in the chain which ultimately bound the debtor for life; for slavery soon followed, and to slavery was added the power, too frequently exercised, of sale by the creditor. To redeem pledged lands, to restore persons from hopeless misery in foreign lands to freedom in their own country, was the aim, as it was the issue of Solon's endeavours. To do this, he reduced the rate of interest, which was probably a retrospective measure; and he lowered the standard of the silver coinage, by making the Attic mina, which was before only seventy-three, now worth one hundred drachms; in fact, making seventy-three old drachms worth one hundred new. Whatever injury might have been done to landowners and others by these measures, Solon proved himself a disinterested adviser, for he suffered largely by his own enactment. Attacked by the extreme parties (a proof of the excellence of his regulations), he discharged his duties so faithfully, that the changes were eventually hailed with approbation by the many, and he proceeded with the confidence of his countrymen to the second and more difficult part of his undertaking. The laws of Draco were reversed, with the exception of that highest law of bloodshed, whose source and origin was perhaps even recognized by the Greeks as higher and holier than of man.

The four old tribes were retained, but new citizens from other countries were not improbably admitted by Solon. But now from this time, property was the standard, not birth: wealth, not noble ancestry, laid claim to the high offices and to rank in the constitution; a death-blow to all open attempts at tyranny was the forerunner of an entire change to a democracy.

The first class in the state consisted of those whose yearly income was five hundred measures of dry or liquid produce. The second class was of those who were called 'knights,' and possessed three hundred measures a year. The third consisted of those whom

we may call yeomen, whose property allowed them to keep, or required, a yoke of cattle. The fourth or lowest was of those whose incomes fell below the last, and whose usual employment was labour and husbandry for hire.

To the first class belonged exclusively the archonship (though from this time some appeal was allowed from its decisions), the highest offices in the state, commands in the army, and afterwards, in the days of the maritime power of Athens, the chief command in the navy. Some lower offices were undoubtedly left for the second and third classes, though it is now impossible to specify them.

But we must not omit to add, that while they were excluded from high office, and expected to serve, the one with cavalry, the other with heavy infantry, they were assessed at a lower rate in proportion to their incomes.

The last class were entirely excluded from the magistracy; they were the light troops, or they manned the fleets, but they were freed from all definite contributions, and took a part in the popular assemblies, as well as those judicial privileges now committed to the people.

Magistrates, before entering on their office, underwent a 'dokimasy,' or a scrutiny, to prove them good citizens and true, dutiful servants of their parents, their country, and their gods; and none relinquished office without being subjected to the trial called 'euthyne,' exercised by those over whom he governed, as to the manner in which he had conducted himself. Thus did Solon apparently aim at such a balance of duties and privileges among his different classes, such an equipoise between arduous offices and the wealth that gave title to precedence in the state, that, while he gave independence and inferior rights to the poorer citizens, he protected them from the oppression of the

\* The original word, *δοκιμασία*, means a "proving," or "examination."

rich, who could use their power, but could not abuse it. Neither side could gain an unjust advantage, for the body was truly governed, but those who governed were responsible parties: the archons retained their privileges, but appeals were allowed from their jurisdiction.

Solon's two great institutions were the council of four hundred, and the court of Areopagus.

The first did not probably originate with him any more than the other, but either he altered the constitution; or the council of four hundred was substituted for an older aristocratical council, whose numbers cannot rightly be determined. The members of Solon's new council were chosen from the three first classes, each of the four tribes furnishing one hundred. Nor is it certain whether, as in later times, the members were elected by lot. These last were not eligible till thirty; they were changed every year, and were liable to render account of their office: they prepared measures for the popular assembly. The whole body was divided into sections of prytanes, presided over by an epistates, who sat in the prytaneum, succeeded one another through the year, or prepared business for the council and the assembly of the people. The ecclesia or popular assembly could only deliberate on propositions laid before it by the council; and in earlier times its meetings were irregular, and it was not till a late period that the deep interest in its proceedings became so general: a small pay was given to all who attended in time, while those who loitered about the streets at the hour were, if detected by the officers, fined. The votes of the lowest class weighed as much as those of the highest: all might speak, and every one at the age of twenty was a member. But to prevent rash measures, the oldest members were called on first to speak on the question. Final measures of war or peace, and of great importance, were here determined. The judicial power of the archons was now transferred to a body of six thousand jurors,

called the court of Helisea, chosen from all ranks of citizens, of thirty years of age; this was usually divided into ten courts, but they met for cases of unusual importance. This court was to be the chief guardian of the constitution, chief minister and preserver of the laws: it was a select body of the ecclesiasts, and among other duties it judged especially the authors of illegal measures. Thus, as was the intention of the legislator, the Heliasts, a popular body, were the controllers, if they were not the authors, of laws. Any one who had been the author of a law or decree considered inconsistent with other laws then in force, or more general still, the public interest, was responsible to them, and if tried within a year, could only hope for mercy from these his judges: his punishment, if found guilty, was for them alone to decide. Great as was their power, their conduct was not, like that of the senators, subject to any subsequent examination. The great court of Areopagus was also attributed, though probably incorrectly, to Solon as its founder. Its institutions he doubtless altered. On an eminence on the western side of the Acropolis was the seat of this awful court of justice. There, trials for murder and flagrant crimes were held in great solemnity, with no roof above them, that such men as stood their trial there might not pollute the air breathed by their upright judges. No rhetorical digressions, no appeals to the passions, were allowed, but with oaths the most awful, the accusers preferred their allegations, and in a calm unimpassioned mode, the trial proceeded. But before the sentence was passed, if conscience too convicted him, the criminal might by voluntary exile rid his country of an offending citizen. And well indeed were the judges chosen from archons who had left the office and had been approved for their fidelity. Here, after the toils of office, in unprejudiced old age, with no object but the public good, sat the aged guardians of morals and religion, with authority to punish and control; no appeal was allowed from their

decisions, and, as was probable, the court of Mars' hill long enjoyed the high character for impartiality and equity in accordance with its principles, and which its practice maintained. We cannot now more than briefly mention some of Solon's institutions; such as his courts of arbitrators, to settle private differences without being carried to higher courts, from which, if once the parties laid the case before them, there was no further appeal. Again there was his division of duties of the 'naucraries,' or sections of the tribes, which, as in other cases, he re-arranged and laid the foundation of the Attic navy, each section furnishing a galley and two horsemen. He encouraged trades and manufactures, and invited foreign residents to Attica, who could bring with them any useful trades. These had privileges allowed them, though always distinct and inferior to those of citizens.

Thus did Solon regulate and increase the power of the popular assembly, while he did not lessen the proper authority of the archons; he distributed the privileges and the duties on, at least, a consistent principle throughout; he corrected abuses, and moderated the power of the nobles, while he raised the lower class from their previous degradation to the rights and duties of citizenship. His measures did not extend, like those of Lycurgus, to domestic life. Till sixteen, an Athenian was with his parents; but from that time, for his duties as a citizen, he was under the education of the state, and from eighteen to twenty he served in the guards of the country, and learned the profession of arms, till at the age of twenty he was admitted to the full duties and rights of an Athenian.

Solon's laws were inscribed on revolving pyramidal blocks, placed first in the Acropolis, and afterwards in the Prytaneum. After completing the best set of laws which he said the Athenians could bear, he withdrew from Athens for ten years, and visited Asia



Minor, Cyprus, and Egypt, like all the wisest and greatest of mankind, still seeking to add to his previous knowledge, his constant acquisitions teaching him how much more was yet to be acquired. Knowing as he did, that in proportion as his political labours had been more important, the longer time would be required to render them familiar to his people; and, disregarding the cavils and accusations of opponents, he sought in foreign countries rest from his toil, and fresh acquirements for his capacious intellect.

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## CHAPTER VI.

Parties in Attica—Pisistratus and his sons—Harmodius and Aristogiton—Expulsion of the Pisistratidæ—The legislation of Cleisthenes—Isagoras and Cleomenes—Invasion of Attica—Attempt of Sparta to restore Hippias.

SOLON left his country for ten years. He had done more, probably, than any single man could have done to rectify evils. To him all parties had looked for redress, and he had answered their appeal with wisdom and equity. But ten short years elapsed, and Solon returned to find faction raging, if possible, more fiercely, and parties struggling for what he most apprehended—tyranny. Attica was not solitary in this condition. A tyrant was generally a popular leader who gained the rule against the aristocracy, and for some time they were numerous in Greece and the colonies. Sicyon was long ruled by Orthagoras and his descendants, the most noted of whom was Cleisthenes, whose daughter was married to Megacles, son of Alcmaeon the Athenian. With Cleisthenes the tyranny expired at Sicyon. At Corinth the same state of things continued, the Heracleid family of the Bacchiads bearing sway; till ejected by Cypselus, who supported the popular side against the ruling body.

He was succeeded by his son Periander, more rigorous than his father, but of more extended power. With his son Psammitichus, ended the tyranny of Corinth.

The rule of Theagenes at Megara prompted, as we have shown, the attempt of Cylon at Athens; and Argos and Sparta alone of the leading Dorian cities, did not fall under the rule of tyrants.

There were three leading parties in Attica when Solon was called on to legislate. The inhabitants of the highlands, or Hyperacrians, were more inclined for a democracy: the men of the coast, or the Paralians, chiefly subsisting by trade, desired such a reform in the constitution as should increase the general prosperity of the country; these, in fact, were for moderate measures: while the third party, those of the plain, or Pedizæans, were chiefly the nobles, and these, as was natural, favoured the old system of aristocratical power.

These last were headed by a nobleman named Lycurgus; the second by Megacles, grandson of him whose one foul deed left a blot for ever on his line; and the inhabitants of the highlands were headed by Pisistratus: he was a Codrid, and related to Solon, and unlike the Roman emperor Galba, who always seemed fit to rule until he acquired the empire, Pisistratus displayed in power qualities so opposite to those he displayed as a private citizen, that he disappointed his enemies, and relieved Solon from his fears. His great relation had trembled for the consequences he anticipated from the ambition of Pisistratus; but his remonstrances, though respectfully listened to, were little really regarded; and by a stratagem to deceive the many, Pisistratus gained the power he wished. Drawn into the market-place wounded and bleeding (as it proved, by his own hand), by his complaints he aroused the indignation of the crowd, and was granted a body-guard to protect him from attacks similar to the one from which he pretended he had just escaped.

Pisistratus, with the help of his guard, at once took possession of the Acropolis, and became ruler of the city, which he governed at once with equity and moderation. Megacles and the Alcmaeonids left the city, and Lycurgus and his party waited an opportunity to overthrow their more successful rival. His enemies soon united and drove him from the city; yet subsequently quarrelling for the prize they had wrested from Pisistratus, Megacles made proposals to the exiled tyrant, and Pisistratus, on condition of marrying the daughter of the Alcmaeonid, gained his assistance in the recovery of his tyranny. They procured a woman named Phya to act the part of Athena, and proclaimed that the goddess herself was leading Pisistratus back to the city. This, which was not intended to deceive the Athenians, added effect to the pageant of the returning ruler, and Pisistratus was again restored to power. But the Alcmaeonid's party, indignant with Pisistratus for his treatment of their relative his wife, opposed him again, and he was driven to retire to Eretria in Euboea. Once more assisted by Thebes and Argos, after long preparation, he attempted the recovery of his sovereignty: his adversaries met him in the plains of Marathon, and Pisistratus being victorious and proclaiming an amnesty, the adverse parties, deserted by their adherents, left him again undisputed lord of Athens. He ruled long and moderately, not only not changing, but more strictly enforcing the laws. He added to and ornamented the city, and is said to have collected and preserved the Homeric poems. After a sway of ten years, the praises of which have been handed down to us by historians, he left his dominion to his sons Hippias, Hipparchus, and Thessalus, B.C. 527.

For some time the sons of Pisistratus followed in their father's steps, ruling with equity and moderation. But one act disturbed the peace of Athens, and led to further distractions and changes in the constitution. Hipparchus injured the sister of a youth named Har-

modius; the insult stung the brother so deeply, that his indignation communicated itself to his friend Aristogiton. The Panathenaic festival approached, others joined the injured friends, and Hipparchus was in open day assassinated. Harmodius and Aristogiton were slain by the guards, but their praises were long sung as having freed Athens from a detestable tyrant. Nor can we wonder that their act of revenge, bearing as it did the higher reputation of political enthusiasm, was at that time sufficient to immortalize their name.

The murder of his brother, and the open act of rebellion, entirely changed the character of Hippias: from being merciful and generous, he became suspicious, stern, and cruel; and the peace and calm which had maintained the Pisistratidæ in power being now disturbed, a storm soon followed that swept them for ever from the throne. From fears which proved well grounded, he gave his daughter in marriage to the son of Hippoclus, tyrant of Lampsacus, allying himself to a favourite of Darius, and thus providing for himself a retreat in case of a reverse of fortune at home. Meanwhile the number of disaffected increased, and the Alcmaeonidæ regained hope of returning power. By repairing at a more costly rate than they had agreed the temple of Delphi, which had been burnt, they secured the assistance of the oracle; and through the contrivance of Cleisthenes the Spartans never consulted the Pythia, but they were ordered to give liberty to Athens. Aroused at length by these injunctions, Anchimolius led an army of Lacedæmonians against Athens, but Hippias repelled them, and the leader of the expedition was among the slain.

Cleomenes, one of the Spartan kings, led another and a larger army against Attica with more success than Anchimolius. Hippias retired to the citadel, and prepared to stand a siege, but his children falling into the hands of the enemy, the price of their redemption was his kingdom, and it was paid. Four years after his brother's death, B.C. 510, Hippias, the

last of the Pisistratidæ, left Athens, and fixed his residence for a time at his hereditary kingdom of Sigeum.

The Alcæonidæ, and not Harmodius and Aristogiton, had really liberated Athens; but they were not allowed to enjoy their success in tranquillity, as a struggle now began between Cleisthenes, one of the Alcæonidæ, and Isagoras, a noble. Cleisthenes took the popular side; and gaining the sanction of the Delphic oracle, and the confidence of the commonalty, introduced some further changes in the Athenian constitution. The four ancient tribes were abolished, and ten new tribes substituted, and these again were subdivided into demes. Cleisthenes made new citizens, enfranchised aliens, and even slaves. Thus by every means within his reach he raised the power of the commonalty.

The council of four hundred was now increased to five hundred, fifty being elected from each tribe. These fifty prytanes took precedence for thirty-five days. Of these, ten were proedrei, and one of these the epistates. To Cleisthenes is attributed ostracism, a process by which any citizen who made himself obnoxious by his superior ability or influence could at once be got rid of,—a dangerous privilege indeed, and one by which Athens lost some of her most faithful sons.

But now Isagoras applied to his friend Cleomenes, and obtained his aid against Cleisthenes. A herald came from Sparta, and reviving the imputation of guilt against the Alcæonidæ, demanded the expulsion of the accursed race. Cleisthenes withdrew from Athens, and Cleomenes sought to establish Isagoras in a tyranny; seven hundred families designated by Isagoras were banished; the council of five hundred was next to be depressed, but the attempt was resisted, and Cleomenes and Isagoras were besieged by the people in the citadel. On the third day they capitulated, and, with their Lacedæmonian army, were

allowed to retire, while Cleisthenes and the seven hundred families returned in triumph to Athens.

War was now looked for from Sparta; and the preparations of Cleomenes to restore Isagoras by force, justified the fears of the Athenians, who sent to Sardis to ask for an alliance. The satrap granted it only on condition of giving earth and water to Darius in token of subjection. The ambassadors agreed to the terms, but on their return their conduct was blamed, and the act disavowed. While Cleomenes, joined by all the forces he could raise in Peloponnesus, was advancing with his colleague Demaratus against Attica, the Thebans and Chalcidians attacked the northern frontier and eastern coasts. The Athenians advanced to meet the Peloponnesians, but the Corinthians, before the battle joined, quitted, in shame of so unjust a quarrel, the ranks of Cleomenes; and Demaratus, perhaps from not having been informed of his colleague's real intention, also refused his assistance. Cleomenes was compelled to abandon his enterprize, and from that time the Spartan kings were not allowed both to take the field together.

The Athenians, now at liberty, advanced on their other enemies, and took ample vengeance on the Boeotians and Chalcidians.

The Thebans, burning for revenge, were directed, as the oracle was interpreted, to gain help from Ægina. This island, from this time of great importance, bore Athens a grudge for what she had done, and Ægina had suffered in a quarrel that had arisen on the subject of Epidaurus. While the Thebans attacked the northern frontier, the Æginetans landed on the coast, and ravaged the country. Athens, intending to retaliate at once on Ægina, was stopped by an oracle, which enjoined a delay of vengeance for a generation.

By this time the Spartans had discovered the fraud practised on them by Cleisthenes, and looked with a jealous eye on the growing power of Athens, which

they could not but reflect was chiefly owing to their mistaken zeal. Hippias was invited from Sigeum, and a congress of deputies was summoned to lament the wrong done to the Pisistratidæ, and to propose the restoration of Hippias to the station from which they had deposed him. Their friendship and concern for Hippias were less than their fear of Athens, and their real motives could not be concealed. The allies, chiefly urged by Sosicles a Corinthian, refused their concurrence, and the Spartans were obliged to abandon their design. Hippias returned to Sigeum, and thence to the court of Darius, prophesying, as it is said, that the time would one day come, when Corinth should regret the part she had taken in saving Athens from the Pisistratidæ.

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## CHAPTER VII.

*Lydia—Medes and Persians—Cyrus—Cambyses—Darius Hystaspes.*

WE mentioned an Athenian embassy to the satrap of Sardis, and the forethought of Hippias in securing a retreat under the power of the Persian court. Since from this time the East takes a prominent part in the events of our history, we must give an account of the Lydian and Persian kingdoms.

Sardis was the capital of a kingdom whose line of kings extended to the mythic ages. These dynasties had risen, flourished, and ended in Lydia, at the time of which we were just speaking. The Atyadæ were the oldest, derived from Atys, whose son, named Lydus, gave the country, formerly called Mæonia, its name of Lydia. Of these we know no more than we do of their successors the Heracleids, who are said to have reigned for five hundred years, and been succeeded by the Mermnads, the origin of whose name

is doubtful. It is not till we come to these that we can rely on the Lydian history. Gyges, the first of the line, who had dethroned his master, Candaules, turned his arms against Miletus and Priene. In the reign of his son and successor, Ardys, the Cimmerians overran a large part of Asia Minor, and took Sardis, all except the citadel, about the same time that the Scythians, who are said to have been in pursuit of the Cimmerians, made an irruption into Media. Sadyattes, who succeeded his father, carried on war with the Milesians, but left it to his son and successor Alyattes to liberate Asia from the Cimmerians, and to continue hostilities on Miletus. But though he expelled the invaders from his own kingdom, he completed eleven years of aggressive invasion without even materially injuring his enemies; and finally, by a stratagem of Thrasybulus, the Milesian tyrant, a treaty of peace and alliance was concluded.

Croesus, the last and most famous of the kings of Lydia, had successfully disputed his right to the throne with his half-brother, Pantaleon, during the lifetime of his father, Alyattes. At the age of thirty-five, 560 B.C., he began a series of conquests, which rendered his final overthrow the more degrading. He subdued the Greek cities of Asia Minor which still maintained their independence, and in fact, brought within his dominion all the country this side the river Halys, with the exception of the Cilicians and Lycians. He was attached to and cultivated the friendship of the Greeks, and his court was the resort of their sages and nobles. Pittacus, or Bias, is said to have been the main obstacle, by the advice he offered, to an attempt which Croesus meditated on the adjacent islands. And during his travels, which we have before alluded to, Solon visited his court in the height of its splendour; but the sage, little struck, as the story runs, by the gaudy externals of eastern felicity, bade Croesus never deem mortal happy while aught of life remained; and astonished his royal entertainer by preferring a life



spent in discharging virtuous obligations, to one brightened by all the smiles of fortune. The lesson of the philosopher was forgotten till the glory of the Lydian sun was overcast by one dark cloud, beneath which it set, never to rise again.

Babylon and Nineveh were the respective capitals of the two independent kingdoms, into which the old Assyrian empire had been divided. The Medes had shaken off the yoke of Assyria under Deioces, the founder of Ecbatana, and his successor, Phraortes, had attacked the ancient city of Nineveh, though he perished in doing so. Cyaxares, the next king, was interrupted in his attempts on the same place by the invasion of the Scythians, who plundered Asia for twenty-eight years. A treacherous massacre freed him from the invaders, and Nineveh finally yielded to his arms, leaving Babylon all that remained independent of the ancient Assyrian empire : how long it maintained itself so, we shall shortly see. A war broke out between the Lydian and Median kings, at the close of which an eclipse occurred which had been predicted by Thales. Through the interposition of allies, a treaty of peace was concluded; and to render it more lasting, a marriage took place between the daughter of Alyattes (Aryenis), sister of Croesus, and Astyages, son of Cyaxares.

It was in the time of Astyages that a new revolution took place, which overthrew the Medes from their kingdom, and made way for the second great empire. The Persians were a race divided into several tribes, of which three were accounted more noble than the rest, and these again contained the revered house of the Achæmenids, looked on by all the nation as the superior family. Inhabiting a mountainous district, the Persians, as a body, possessed manners simple and pure, and few temptations to luxury, whether in food or dress; they trained their children, we are told, to ride and draw the bow, to speak the truth, and give every one his due.

They worshipped the elements, the heavens, and the sun and moon, and when they offered sacrifices, it was on the summit of their highest hills. During some time the Persians submitted to the Medes, but in the days of Astyages, the face of things changed. A story is extant, the main features of which are probably fictitious, relating to the transfer of power to the Persians. Astyages, influenced by a dream, attempted to destroy his grandson, Cyrus; the execution of his design was committed to Harpagus, but through the mercy of the herdsman to whom the child was entrusted to be left to die on the mountains, the king's intentions were defeated. Cyrus grew up, and assisted by Harpagus, on whom Astyages had revenged himself, and whom he had thus provoked, dethroned the monarch and governed the united Medes and Persians.

We must now return to Croesus. Influenced, perhaps, by the desire of revenge for the injury done by Cyrus to his relative, Astyages, and even if he lacked this feeling, stimulated by desire of conquest, he turned his thoughts and ambition in the direction of Asia. Of all the oracles he consulted, Delphi alone proved itself trustworthy; as was usual, its response was ambiguous, and might, in substance, have been as appositely delivered on any war, and to either party: "Croesus would destroy a mighty empire, if he went against the Persians." He interpreted it according to his hopes, but it ended in his ruin. An engagement where neither could claim the victory, took place at Pteria; and Croesus, dismissing his allies, and sending to Babylon and the Lacedæmonians for their promised succour, retreated in the spring to Sardis. Cyrus pursued him, and encamped before the walls of the capital: a battle, in which the success of the Persians is said to have been owing to the camels, followed; and a siege succeeded, the issue of which was the surrender of Sardis, and the fall of the Lydian empire. A story relates that the life of Croesus was spared, just as

he was going to be put to death, by Cyrus, on hearing him thrice exclaim the name of Solon. Pity for one who had suffered such a reverse of fortune, not improbably gained from Cyrus the pardon of Croesus, who, though historians differ, probably ended his life at Ecbatana, which had been assigned him as a residence.

An insurrection once occurred in Lydia, but it ended in the vanquished people being deprived of their arms, and their reduction being thus the more complete.

Cyrus had affairs of too great importance to manage in the East, to allow him to remain on the coast of Asia Minor. The Ionian Greeks were to be subdued: Miletus was the only place excepted, and Mazares was sent to reduce them to obedience. He lived to do little more than to take Priene and Magnesia, and was succeeded by Harpagus, who pressed on the work. Phocæa was deserted by its inhabitants, who vowed never to return till an iron bar which they had dropped into the sea should rise to the surface; they went to Rhegium in Italy, and finally founded Massilia, or Marseilles, on the coast of France. Teos followed their example: its inhabitants retired to Abdera in Thrace. Thales and Bias had given the Ionians good counsel as to their political and military measures, but they did not hearken, and not all possessing the heroism of Teos and Phocæa, they fell in succession under the attacks of Harpagus, and found, when too late, that the Persian yoke was yet more galling than that of Croesus. The Carians yielded, but not without a struggle; and in Lycia, the men of Xanthus set fire to the city, so as to consume their wives and children, and then rushed forth, sword in hand, to die in battle; so great, so lasting was their love of liberty, so deep their aversion to bear arms in the service of a foreign master. While the West was yielding to the lieutenants of Cyrus, he was in person completing his conquest of the East. The great and voluptuous city

of Babylon sunk before him; but it was not until "that great river," Euphrates, had been turned from its course, and, according to the prophecies, "a drought was upon the waters, and they were dried up." Entering by the channel of the river, the army of Cyrus gained possession of Babylon, and subdued the last remnant of Assyrian power.

Soon after the conquest of Babylon, Cyrus undertook an expedition against the Massagetæ, a people dwelling on the east of the Caspian; but a victory by stratagem was all he gained, and he was shortly defeated in a great battle, and he himself slain.

Cambyses succeeded his father, Cyrus, in his kingdom and his designs. The first measure which he attempted was the invasion of Egypt. Amasis was on the throne of that country, and had, as it was said, incurred the anger of Cambyses. But before the invading army reached Egypt, Amasis had been gathered to his fathers, and his son and successor, Psammenitus, awaited the approach of the Persians. The struggle was of short duration. Psammenitus threw himself into Memphis, but was besieged and taken, and though a captive of war, was treated, if we may trust Herodotus, with a clemency not unusual in such cases among the Persians. But the success of Cambyses was nearly over: his expeditions against the Ammonians and Macrobians were almost equally calamitous; and his design on Carthage was frustrated by the Phoenicians, who, on the plea of piety towards a city so closely connected with their own country, refused their services. Still Cambyses had conquered Egypt too easily: he found he could trample on his victims with impunity, and he did so; he insulted their religion and their customs, heaping indignities even on the dead body of the late king, Amasis. His tyranny was so capricious, that loss of reason alone was considered an adequate excuse for it; and this was attributed to perpetual drunkenness, or to the will of the gods, whose anger he had provoked by his monstrous impiety.

During this period the Greek cities of Asia Minor had remained in tranquil subjection to Persia. The neighbouring islands had probably enjoyed more independence, for the simple reason that they could not so easily be kept under command. Of all these, Samos was the most flourishing. This island, like others, had undergone various changes of government. At the end of the reign of Cyrus, Polycrates made himself master of the city; for some short time he ruled in union with his brothers, but one of them, Pantagnotus, he put to death, and drove the other, Syloson, into exile, thus leaving himself absolute master of Samos. As it has sometimes happened, a power which was gained illegally, was exercised discreetly; Samos rose and flourished under the sway of Polycrates; the island was adorned with useful works; his galleys swept the *Ægean*, and his ambitious designs would have carried him against Persia itself, if his prudence had not withheld him: he cherished the arts, and did not allow his luxury or ambition to disturb the domestic peace of his people. Amasis, the king of Egypt, to whom he was closely allied in friendship, contemplated with alarm the prosperity of Polycrates: abundant prosperity was regarded among the ancients as a proof of the envy of the gods: a sacrifice of some possession was enjoined him, and a valuable ring was cast by Polycrates into the sea. Restored to its royal owner in the belly of a fish, it forewarned Amasis that the fate he anticipated for his friend was unavoidable, and he forthwith forsook the alliance of the Samian prince. One whom Polycrates had never injured secretly planned his ruin. Oroetes, satrap of Sardis, pretended a need of his friendship, and entrapping him by his promises, induced him to visit Sardis. The prayers of his daughter and the warnings of his friends were of no avail, and Polycrates never saw Samos again, for he was seized by the order of Oroetes, and was put to death in Magnesia. His murderer escaped his just reward

for a period, but in later days having insulted his master Darius, he paid the penalty of death for this and his previous offences. Soon after this, Cambyzes died, and the throne of Persia was occupied by an impostor, against whom Cambyzes was, at the time of his death, proceeding. The pretender was Smerdis, who was supposed to be a brother of Cambyzes, who really was dead: he was a Magian and a Mede. The attempt, if such was the design, to restore the power of the Medes, soon failed, for Darius Hystaspes, aided by six conspirators, dethroned the usurper, and a general massacre of the Magian tribe took place, commemorated afterwards by the annual festival of the Magophonia.

A discussion, as Herodotus relates, followed as to the best form of government; but either from superiority of interest or merit, Darius Hystaspes mounted the throne: the conspirators were allowed certain privileges, which for some time embarrassed the king; but one was put to death for a heinous outrage, and others probably removed to distant governments, where they exercised the power which was restrained at court with greater and more independent licence.

Darius was the greatest monarch that sate on the Persian throne. Cyrus was a great conqueror, and the generals of Cambyzes, and Cambyzes himself, continued the same course, but Darius was the founder of the Persian state. It has been said that his "realm extended from the Ægean to the Indus, from the steppes of Scythia to the cataracts of the Nile." All this he organized: his exaction of tribute was regular, whether in goods or coin: his provinces were governed by satraps, answerable for their several imposts, and the oppression to which this practice would lead, may easily be conceived. If there were faults in his arrangements, they may be partly accounted for from our not entirely understanding the principles of his institutions, and may partly be excused, when they are compared with those of his predecessors.

The prosperity of his reign seems almost greater from his partial calamities; and under him the character of the Persians was still perhaps renowned for its love of justice and truth, which, alas! but too soon deserted them.

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## CHAPTER VIII.

The invasion of Scythia—Struggle at Naxos—Aristagoras—Ionian revolt—Burning of Sardis—Mardonius—Datis and Artaphernes—Battle of Marathon—Miltiades.

DARIUS was a great king, but an unfortunate general; and the expeditions into which he was led, form the more gloomy parts of his otherwise prosperous reign. Ambition led to his defeat in Greece, and that ambition was first called forth by an accident; while Scythia repelled him from her frozen coasts, though stimulated, as was said, by that most insatiate of passions—revenge. Democedes, a physician and native of Croton, of great reputation, had been employed by Polycrates, and afterwards by Darius, in attendance on Atossa his queen; he inflamed her, it is said, by a description of his native land; and a party being sent with Democedes to visit his home, had also to survey the shore of Greece; and this Herodotus considers preliminary to the invasion of Greece, though other causes really produced it.

While mentioning Polycrates, it is as well to notice briefly the events which took place at Samos after his death. Syloson, his younger brother, was restored by Darius to his country, in gratitude for some trivial kindness shown him when at the court of Cambyzes. Mæandrius, left in charge of the government by Polycrates, had capitulated with the forces sent to take the island and restore it to Syloson. Charilaus, the younger brother of Mæandrius, by his rashness prevented the more pacific measures; and Otanes attacking the Samians,

whose lives he had been strictly ordered to spare, put Syloson in possession of an empty kingdom. But to return to Darius and Scythia. The Scythians were a migratory race, of coarse and brutal habits, and indolent in every thing except war and hunting. To take vengeance on this people, when, if he had conquered and taken their whole country, it could hardly have been considered a valuable acquisition to the crown of Persia, Darius himself led seven or eight hundred thousand men across the Thracian Bosphorus. Mandrocles, a Samian, formed the bridge, and received a valuable reward from the hands of his royal employer. But the glory of the expedition, if any existed, ceased with this noble work of art. Some Thracian tribes were compelled to submit to the Eastern monarch, but the main objects of his attempt eluded his utmost perseverance. The Ionians, whom he had left at the advice of Coes to guard the bridge across the Danube, had remained the sixty days which Darius had ordered them; Miltiades urged them to follow the request of the Scythians and to destroy it, but Histiaëus saved the Persians; and Darius, to his surprise and joy, escaped from the evils and dangers which surrounded him. The Scythian kings, as Herodotus relates, sent him a present of a bird, a mouse, a frog, and five arrows, which was interpreted to mean, that unless he could fly with the first, burrow under ground with the second, or swim with the third, he would not be able to escape from the arms of his enemies. Darius took the hint, and, as we have seen, accomplished at any rate a successful retreat. Histiaëus was rewarded by permission to build on the Strymon, where he founded Myrcinus, and Coes with the tyranny of Mitylene.

Darius left Megabazus with ten thousand men to subdue Thrace. This general soon subdued the tribes which had not yet submitted, and having added the Pæonians to his conquests, he returned to Sardis.



Histiæus had alarmed Megabazus by his increasing power in his new colony; and Darius, warned of his danger from a new quarter, recalled Histiæus on the plea of needing so wise a counsellor in the direction of important affairs. Histiæus could not choose but obey, and proceeded an unwilling prisoner to the palace of Susa. Aristagoras, his son-in-law, was now the chief man at Miletus; Artaphernes, satrap of the Asiatic coast; and Otanes took the place of Megabazus, and was employed in the reduction of some of the maritime cities. He took Byzantium and Chalcedon, and the islands of Lemnos and Lesbos. Persia was flourishing, and, in the words of a modern historian, "the nations from the banks of the Indus to the border of Thessaly, enjoyed one of those short intervals of profound calm, which in history as in nature often precede the gathering of a storm."

A struggle between the democratic and aristocratic parties of Naxos, which ended in the expulsion of the nobility, aroused the then civilized world to arms. The Naxian nobles connected with Histiæus applied to his successor Aristagoras for aid. Anxious for the enterprize, but doubtful of his own resources, Aristagoras offered to apply to Artaphernes. He laid before the satrap a brilliant design of conquest and booty to be acquired among the islands; the consent of Darius was obtained, and two hundred ships under Megabates granted for the attempt. Before they arrived at Naxos, a quarrel took place between Aristagoras and Megabates, and the latter betrayed the intention of the former to the Naxians. A Persian army besieged the city for four months in vain, and at length was obliged to retire. From this moment Aristagoras meditated a revolt, and a message from Histiæus, whose splendid bondage was irksome to one of so active a spirit, confirmed him in his intentions. A meeting was held to deliberate on an open revolt. Aristagoras laid down his own tyranny, B.C. 501, and

the tyrants of the different cities were deposed, but with the exception of Coes, who was stoned, were allowed to go into exile.

But they had need of some powerful allies before they could reasonably hope for any success. Aristagoras turned his course towards Sparta, where Cleomenes was still reigning. Pointing on a map to the situation of the provinces of Asia Minor, he endeavoured, by extolling the fertility and wealth of the country, to gain the assistance of the Spartans. Cleomenes, wavering, asked the distance from the sea to Susa, and with ill-judged candour, Aristagoras answered, a journey of three months. The Spartan king took the alarm, and Aristagoras found his only resource was that of bribes. He gradually rose in his offers to fifty talents, when the child of Cleomenes, named Gorgo, perceiving her father yielding to the temptation, saved him by exclaiming, "Go away, father, or the stranger will corrupt you." Baffled in his designs at Sparta, Aristagoras proceeded to Athens, and here openly avowing the object of his mission, he gave the same brilliant account which he had laid before Cleomenes. This, and his appeal to their benevolence in behalf of their distressed colonies, produced the desired effect, and twenty ships under Melanthius were given him. These galleys, said the historian, were the origin of evils to the Greeks and barbarians. To these were added five from Eretria, and the fleet united proceeded to Ephesus. The troops landed at Coressus, and, joined by the Ionians, hastened across the Tmolus to Sardis. The houses of this city were chiefly of reeds, and a soldier during the pillage set fire to a house; the flames spread rapidly, and the Athenians, after a struggle, dreading that allies would come to the relief of Artaphernes, who was in the citadel, retreated to the vale of Cays-ter, B.C. 499: the troops dispersed, and the galleys sailed home to Eretria and Athens. The anger of Darius knew no bounds, when he heard of the con-

flagration of Sardis: the temple of Cybele had been consumed in the flames, and an attendant was ordered each day to recall to him the name of the Athenians, and the injury they had done him—a people of whose very existence he had been till then ignorant, and who gave him afterwards but too much cause to remember and fear them. Darius charged Histiaëus with being concerned in the revolt, but he persuaded the king of his own innocence, and even obtained leave to visit Ionia, promising to suppress the rebellion.

About this time Cyprus revolted, but within the year was again reduced under the Persian yoke, and others of the generals of Darius subdued the cities of the Hellespont, the Carians, and Milesians. Aristagoras left Miletus for the banks of the Strymon, and here he was soon after cut off with his army by some Thracians, whose city he was besieging.

Histiaëus, suspected by Artaphernes, and taxed with his share in the rebellion, left Sardis, but neither Chios nor Miletus would receive him, and he found no friends till he arrived at Lesbos. There he collected a small fleet, and sailing to Byzantium, attacked the merchant ships of those cities which would not recognize his authority.

Miletus was the point of attack intended by the Persian generals, and a fleet was collected from Phœnicia, Cyprus, Cilicia, and Egypt, against which three hundred and fifty-three ships were arrayed on the side of the Ionians at the island of Lade before Miletus. Dionysius, the commander of one of the Phocæan ships, gained the direction of the fleet, but the discipline he ordered was not long maintained, and the Samians even listened to the proposals of their old tyrant to desert the Ionians. This course had been suggested to the deposed tyrant by the Persians, and was partially successful in the battle which ensued; most of the Samians, some of the Ionians, and all the Lesbians turned and fled, and the Persians thus gained the victory. This was soon

followed by the capture of Miletus, B.C. 494, and the removal of its inhabitants to a town on the Tigris. The fall of the capital of Ionia was counted so great a calamity at Athens, that Phrynichus, who exhibited it as a tragedy, was punished by a heavy fine. Histiaëus, the author of all these evils, was afterwards taken by Harpagus, a Persian general, and put to death by Artaphernes. Darius, whom he had so much injured, pitied and regretted his fate, blaming the zeal of those who had slain him, and remembering with clemency the benefit he had once received from him, more than all the years of trouble which his ambition had produced.

Artaphernes regulated the subdued country, and tranquillity was restored. But during the following year, a measure was adopted which astonishes us by its expediency: Mardonius was sent down to Ionia to depose the tyrants. In the place of their government, democracies were established, Mardonius or Darius wisely believing that there would be less provocation to rebellion in this for them, than under the dominion of men on whose fidelity, to say the least, they could never rely.

Athens and Eretria still remained to be punished, and Mardonius was sent with a hostile armament to wreak the vengeance of Darius on the offending cities, B.C. 492. While a fleet swept the *Ægean* and exacted obedience from the islands, Thasos submitted without a struggle; but a storm deprived Darius of three hundred vessels and twenty thousand men off mount Athos, and Mardonius was attacked in Macedonia at night by the Brygians, lost many of his troops, and was wounded himself. His forces were too much weakened to proceed, and he accordingly retreated to Asia.

But the vengeance of Darius was not thus to be checked, and while renewing his preparations for invading Greece, he sent heralds to demand earth and water from the Greek cities, in token of submission.

Some events connected with this in Greece must now occupy our attention. At Sparta and Athens, the Persian heralds were put to death. Ægina with many others complied with the demand. It was made a subject of accusation at once by Athens, and a message to that effect being sent to Sparta, Cleomenes immediately set out to invade Ægina. But his colleague Demaratus encouraged the Æginetans to resist, and Cleomenes, again baffled by his companion in government, retired in dishonour. The rage of Cleomenes was directed against his colleague, whose legitimacy was at least a subject of dispute: his mother had been transferred from a former husband to Ariston, his avowed father: a premature birth drew from Ariston an incautious expression of doubt as to his son's legitimacy, of which Cleomenes long after made use, for his own private ends. Cobon, who was of influence at Delphi, gained over the priestess, and the oracle declared Demaratus was not the son of Ariston: Leotychides, his private enemy, and next in succession, gained the throne, and Demaratus, insulted by his fortunate rival, left Sparta with menaces, for the court of Darius.

Cleomenes and Leotychides now together attacked the Æginetans, and gained ten hostages from them, who were delivered over to the Athenians; but the fraud was detected, the priestess removed from her office, and Cleomenes fled to Thessaly. Returning shortly to Arcadia, his designs against his country procured him his restoration, but soon after he went mad, and having obtained a weapon from his guard he ended his life by his own hand. Leotychides did not enjoy his ill-gotten honours long, for having been detected taking bribes in Thessaly, his house was destroyed, and he died in exile.

In B.C. 490 a new force was collected under Datis and Artaphernes in Cilicia for the subjugation of Greece. Six hundred triremes took the troops on board in Cilicia, Naxos suffered from them first;

the town and its temples were burnt. In peaceful Delos a panic was of course felt when awaiting their arrival, but Datis sent them word that they had no need to fear who inhabited the place where the two gods, Apollo and Artemis, were born. The Cyclades were attacked and reduced to submission, and the Persian fleet then bent its course against Eretria. For six days a gallant resistance was maintained, but the seventh found the Persians victorious through the treachery of some of the besieged.

And now Athens, the most daring of Persia's enemies, was threatened with the whole Persian armament. A courier named Pheidippides was sent to Sparta to ask for succour: though at a distance of nine hundred stades, he reached that place in two days; but it was but the ninth day of the month, and the Spartans could not march till the moon was at the full; their departure was delayed for five days, but, on the Arcadian mountains, the god Pan cheered the messenger with prophecies of success. The Plateans, who some time before had sought and gained help from Athens, in their struggle with their powerful neighbour Thebes, had been from that time united to their avenger, and now gallantly brought all the men they could in aid of the good cause. The command of the Grecian army was given to ten generals and the polemarch Callimachus. Miltiades, of whom we have heard before, as advising the Ionians to loosen the bridge on the Ister, and who had left his post as tyrant of the Athenian colony at the Chersonese for fear of the Persians, was now among the generals of the army. The opinions for immediate action or delay were equally balanced, and Miltiades persuaded the polemarch Callimachus to give the casting vote in favour of battle. Aristides and the others, as their day of command came round, yielded it to Miltiades, but not till his own day arrived did he venture to engage.

It was an Athenian, and one who had once been

looked up to in Athens, that now led the Persians against his country. Hippias in his old age conducted them to the bay of Marathon, for he knew the spot well of old, as one of the few portions of rugged Attica which, from its level nature, admitted the movements of cavalry. Steep hills surround this plain; their gradual approach northward forms a narrow glen, through which a stream flows to the sea, dividing it in its course. The combined force on the side of the Greeks might have been fourteen thousand heavy-armed men, with about the same number of light-armed troops; the Athenians alone being about ten thousand. The Persians are said to have been a hundred thousand strong. The Persians and the Sacæ were the flower of the Eastern army, and, to extend his line to an equal distance with the enemy, Miltiades was obliged to weaken part of his own. Still the situation was in favour of Greece: not mountainous, where their phalanx could not have been maintained unbroken; not too large a plain, where cavalry could have swept round them, but still large enough for the body of the Greeks, and too small for the evolutions of so numerous an enemy. With his centre weakened to strengthen his wings, Miltiades led his bold band at a rapid pace to the charge; the Persians eyed with astonishment the handful of men who came down with a shout upon them: the centre of the Greeks, as was to be expected, gave way before the main strength of the Persians, but the victorious wings being recalled, engaged and conquered those who had broken their centre. The Persians were vanquished, six thousand of the enemy being killed, one hundred and ninety-two only of the Athenians and Platæans, but among these was the polemarch Callimachus. The Persian army embarked and made for Athens, but Miltiades was there before them, and they returned to Asia, having accomplished nothing but the capture of Eretria. Two thousand men of Sparta arrived after the battle, and visited the field

of Marathon; they praised the valour of Athens and returned. Contrary to custom, those who fell at Marathon were buried on the spot, and pillars recorded their names for the information of posterity. They were certainly most worthy of such distinction, for, till then, the very name of the Medes had been a terror, and those who dared so much in defence of Greece, deserved the honour they gained there, and the glory which will accompany the recollection of them so long as Greece is remembered. In after-days the air was said to be peopled at night with the contending warriors: the neighing of the Persian steeds, the clang of the Grecian arms, astonished the shepherd and the wayfarer. The religious Greeks, who attributed their conquest to the interference of the gods, deemed, from that day, the soil of Marathon holy, and those who had fought and bled so nobly were long after worshipped as heroes. Miltiades, when beyond the reach of envy, and Callimachus, were alone distinguished from the rest by separate tombs, and were reckoned among the tutelary deities.

Hippias yielded to an unnatural revenge, and led its bitterest foe against his country. Miltiades blemished his renown as a general and patriot, by aggression and avarice. Receiving a fleet of seventy ships, he proceeded to the isle of Paros, under pretence of punishing its people for their forced service in the Persian cause, but in reality to gratify his own personal revenge. He promised to retreat on receiving a hundred talents, which being refused, he attacked the town, was wounded, and obliged to withdraw. Xantippus on his return accused him, and he was tried for his life: he was brought into the assembly on his bed, and his former services saved his life. A fine of fifty talents was imposed, which his son Cimon afterwards paid. The treatment of Miltiades has been mentioned as an instance of the ingratitude of a people. It would, perhaps, be nearer the truth to say it was an instance of great impartiality. We cannot



think that Athens, at this time, was insensible of the noble deeds of her son; but such an unwarrantable abuse of a public commission met with its just punishment. Far better had Miltiades added one to those who died at Marathon; in so doing, his fall would have been more deplored, his glory would have been undying.

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## CHAPTER IX.

Death of Darius—Accession of Xerxes—Egypt—Preparations for the invasion of Greece—March of Xerxes—Greek Congress—Themistocles and Aristides—Gelon—Storm off Sepias—Artemisium—Thermopylæ.

DARIUS's anger increased when he heard the event of the battle of Marathon. But, bent more than ever on subduing Athens, he began preparations for another and a greater armament. Three years were passed in collecting stores, ships, and troops. A dispute between his sons about the succession, and an insurrection in Egypt, diverted him from his main project, and death in the following year put an end to all his designs, B. C. 485. Xerxes, his son, who succeeded him, first turned his attention to Egypt, which was subdued, and subjected to harder bondage than before. But it needed the persuasion of Mardonius, and the Pisistratidæ, who were at the court, and the Aleuads of Thessaly, to rouse the feelings of the new monarch against offending Europe. Yielding at length to these persuasions, a council was summoned to decide more definitely on the course to be pursued; and Artabanus, the brother of Darius, was almost solitary in his opposition to the expedition. Those who had pressed it before, drew glittering pictures of the easy conquest to be effected now, and Xerxes was restrained in his anger towards Artabanus chiefly by

his respect for him as his father's brother. But his sanction also was at last gained, by being convinced that the war was the will of Heaven.

Four years more were employed in preparations: provisions were laid up in the maritime towns of Thrace; a canal was cut across the isthmus which connects mount Athos with the land, and cables procured from Egypt and Phoenicia, for the bridges of boats to be thrown across the Hellespont. In the spring (B.C. 480), the mighty armament was set in motion. The baggage went first; one thousand picked Persian cavalry next; the royal chariot, in which sat Xerxes, drawn by eight white horses, and the army followed, to the number, if we are to credit Herodotus, of one million seven hundred thousand foot, and eighty thousand horse. After the king, came one thousand spearmen, of noble Persian families; then one thousand chosen horsemen, ten thousand foot, named the "immortals," one thousand with golden, the rest with silver pomegranates on their spears; ten thousand Persian horse followed, and the rest of the army came behind. When to these we add the number of camp followers and attendants, as given by Herodotus, we can scarcely credit his account; "yet there seems," as Dr. Thirlwall says, "to be no sufficient ground for supposing that these estimates are greatly exaggerated." There is more of the spirit of romance in the account of Xerxes spending his impotent rage on the sea, and throwing fetters into the waves of the Hellespont, for destroying his bridge. From a throne of marble, he witnessed a mock-fight, in which all his navy engaged. The sight of his myriads, for the moment, filled his heart with pride; but, if we may believe the historian, the tears of the man soon flowed, when he thought how soon the pageant would end, and those engaged in it perish.

From a golden cup Xerxes poured a libation into the sea, and began his march. For seven days and nights the passage of the bridge continued: the Sea-

mander had failed them as they drank, and they were now going to pour their desolating numbers into Thrace. Every Grecian town was ordered to prepare a meal, and many a town was almost ruined by the expense. To number his troops, a myriad of them were enclosed in as small a space as they could, and then being dismissed, and the space enclosed with a wall, myriad after myriad entered, till the whole was found to amount to one hundred and seventy myriads. The fleet moved along the coast to the Thermaic bay, where the land-forces joined it, and here Xerxes received the heralds whom he had sent to demand earth and water. Of those who sent these tokens of submission, the most considerable were the Thessalians, whose house of Aleuads, as we have seen, urged Xerxes to the expedition. These, influenced by private ambition, had spoken, though not truly, as if they expressed the wishes of the nation,—the Thebans, with all the Boeotians, except those of Thespiae and Platæa, the Locrians and Melians. To Athens and Sparta no heralds were sent, in consequence of their having murdered those sent by Darius. At Sparta it was felt that this sin must be atoned for, and a proclamation was made that there was need that some one should die for their country. Sperthias and Bulis, two noble Spartans, offered themselves a sacrifice to the Persians, but Xerxes declared he would not imitate the cruelty he condemned, by taking their lives. Offers were made them of posts in the royal service, but they were rejected, as one would suppose, and on Xerxes dismissing them, they returned home.

Athens sent to Delphi to consult the oracle; and a dark response foretold the destruction of towns and burning of temples: on their imploring one more favourable, the god bade them hope in the wooden wall, and declared that "divine Salamis" should destroy the children of women. Some thought that the former part of this answer alluded to the thorn hedge that surrounded the Acro-

polis of old, and that this was, therefore, the place of safety, whilst others deemed that they must look to their ships as their only security. Chief among these latter was Themistocles, who deserves some longer notice at our hands. Of high birth, and the son of Neocles, a courtier towards the people, and of brilliant qualities, which soon gave him great influence at Athens, he was the opposite in character, as he was the rival in the state, of Aristides. The latter was of more noble birth, more moderate and disinterested, and of high moral integrity. Aristides served Athens for herself, in the less imposing sphere of a statesman. Themistocles found that in serving his country, he added most to his own fame and importance, and chose the more brilliant line of military command. Foreseeing the conflicts that were coming on his country, even after Marathon, he had persuaded the people to resign the produce of the silver mines at Laurion, for the purpose of ship-building. The navy which, from that time, filled the harbour of Athens, was eventually, as we shall see, the means of her preservation.

Increasing his interest, Themistocles at length procured the ostracism of his rival, and Aristides, at the time of which we are speaking, was in exile.

Themistocles was successful in the advice he now offered, and it was resolved to man the triremes, and trust for safety to them.

A council of deputies from the states was also held at the Isthmus, and a general reconciliation took place; particularly, if only for a time, between Athens and Ægina. It was determined to call on the Argives, Cretans, Corcyreans, and Gelon, the tyrant of Syracuse, for aid. The spies whom they sent to ascertain the strength of the Persian army, were taken and led proudly through the host, and then dismissed to relate the might of the enemy. The Argives, if they had not already contracted an alliance with Xerxes, were at least guilty of refusing their assistance, without alleging a sufficient reason. They were denied an

equal command with the Spartan kings, and seizing this as an excuse, they withheld their aid. The Cretans sheltered themselves under a response of the god, and abstained from the war; and the Corcyreans more perfidiously promised assistance with sixty galleys, but delayed off the coast of Messene, to wait for the issue of the conflict: intending thus to gain the favour of Xerxes, if victorious, by not having joined his enemies, yet hoping to appease the Greeks if they conquered, by declaring that they were detained by adverse winds alone. Greece had but few sons left to defend her, but they were brave and true. Gelon, the powerful tyrant of Syracuse, was liberal in his offers, if they would allow him the supreme command. If this can be relied on, it tells but badly for his generosity: he might have known the haughty Spartans would refuse; and his boast was a safe one, that in rejecting his aid, they had robbed the year of its spring, for he, perhaps, never intended to sacrifice one Sicilian in the cause of Grecian independence. Another account, which we would more willingly believe, states that he would have sent aid, but was hindered by a war with the Carthaginians.

Thessaly agreed to join the Grecian confederacy if aid was sent thither. Ten thousand men were granted under Euænetus, a Spartan, and Themistocles, who marched to Tempe; but warned by Alexander, the Macedonian, that it was in vain to remain there, as there was another entrance through Macedonia, they re-embarked the troops, and returned to the Isthmus. Thessaly had no hope but in Medism<sup>5</sup>. It was resolved to make a stand at the pass of Thermopylæ, while the fleet was to lie off Artemisium, and guard the entrance to the Eubœan channel. Two hundred and seventy-one ships were here stationed under the Spartan, Eurybiades, one hundred and twenty-seven of which came from Athens. But an alarm was excited on hearing

<sup>5</sup> From *Μηδισμὸς*, a leaning towards the Medes, or being in their interest.

the number of the Persian ships, and the Greeks leaving Artemisium, returned to the Euripus, the strait which runs between Eubœa and Bœotia. The Persian fleet came on along the coast of Magnesia, and anchored off Sepias. But here a tempest of irresistible fury burst on them; it raged for three days and nights, and ultimately destroyed at least four hundred ships, while the number of lives, stores, and treasures, which were lost, was incalculable. The Greeks observed with joy the rising and power of the storm, and sacrificed to Boreas for his friendly succour. And now returning to Artemisium, they captured fifteen of the Persian ships which had loitered behind, and mistook the Greek vessels for some of their own. Xerxes himself conducted his troops through upper Macedonia into Thessaly, and then continued his march till he arrived at Thermopylæ.

But the joy of the Greeks was short-lived, when they discovered that their enemies had not lost so many ships as they had anticipated. They were detained from dispersing, partly by the prayers of the Eubœans to Eurybiades, which perhaps would have had but little effect, had they not added to them a bribe of thirty talents to Themistocles, who himself employed part of the money to persuade Eurybiades. While there was this doubt and hesitation on their side, their enemies only thought how they could capture all of them; and sending two hundred ships round Eubœa, to come up the Euripus in their rear, they proposed to attack them in front. A celebrated diver, Scythias, is said to have given the Greeks warning of the approaching danger, and it was resolved to attack the two hundred ships first; but a storm again came to their aid, and most of the two hundred ships were wrecked off the coast of Eubœa. Three separate battles were fought off Artemisium with the remaining ships of the Persians, but no decisive result followed. But news arrived of the defeat of Leonidas, and the Greeks determined to retreat.

Before doing so, Themistocles carved on the rocks an address to the Ionians, calling on them to desert if possible, at least not to join in enslaving their fathers. In doing so, he knew he should render them objects of suspicion to Xerxes.

Miltiades and the Athenians had repelled Datis and Artaphernes; and we shall now see how bravely Leonidas and the Spartans could struggle and die for liberty. A narrow pass leads from Thessaly into Greece, called from some hot springs in the middle of it, Thermopylæ. At the northern end was a ruined wall, which had been some time before erected by the Phocians against the Thessalians. When the eastern monarch arrived at the pass, he found an army ready to oppose him, of three hundred Spartans, with one of their kings, Leonidas, one thousand from Mantinea and Tegea, with others from Corinth, Arcadia, Phlius, and Mycenæ. With these were seven hundred Thespians and four hundred Thebans, one thousand Phocians, and all the Opuntian Locrians. The Spartans were delayed from sending all the forces which they intended by the celebration of the Carnean festival, for no danger was deemed so pressing as to justify the interruption of these religious games. It could not be thought that this handful of men, although the nature of the pass was in their favour, could effectually oppose two millions of men; in fact, it was only expected that they would be able to check their approach for a time; and Leonidas, perhaps, went to the struggle in full anticipation of his death. In accordance with this belief, he selected those Spartans for his followers, who had sons to leave behind them. It certainly goes rather against the truth of this statement, that the path through the mountains, by means of which they were ultimately attacked in the rear, was not known to a single man at the congress held at the Isthmus, at which it was agreed to make a stand at Thermopylæ.

Xerxes approached the pass, and Leonidas had to dissuade the Greeks from retiring. A Persian horse-

man, sent to reconnoitre, related to the astonished king that they were engaged in gymnastic exercises, and combing their hair. Demaratus, who was with Xerxes, knew well the customs of his countrymen, and warned the monarch that it indicated their determination to fight till death. Four days passed, during which it was expected that the Greeks would melt like snow before the sun of the Persian host; and a body of Medes and Cissians was sent to bring them before the king; but a day was occupied in unavailing attacks on the Greeks; and the "immortals," who were next sent, fared even worse. On the following day, a pretended retreat drew them into the pass, and great havoc was made among them. The despot leaped from his throne, when he saw his chosen guards defeated. The next day the assault was renewed; but the Persians, baffled and perplexed, were gradually losing their numbers, and had not as yet made any advance. But a traitor, named Ephialtes, sacrificed Leonidas and his Spartans, and Greece itself, to her greatest foe; he betrayed the path through the mountains, and Xerxes with joy sent the "immortals" round by night to attack them in the rear. The Persians were surprised by the Phocians on the mountains, who, after discharging their arrows, retired. In the evening, the soothsayer, Megistias, warned the Greeks that they should die in the morning. Some deserters brought tidings of the treason; and Leonidas, to avoid shedding blood in vain, bade his companions in arms retreat. He and the Spartans were forbidden by their laws to retire; but the others, bound by no such laws, might yet live to serve Greece more effectually. The gallant Thespians, probably all the forces of this little state, alone remained voluntarily. Leonidas suspected the Thebans, and retained them. Megistias, the soothsayer, dismissed his son, but remained himself to die. Thus was left but a scanty remnant of even this small Greek army: seven hundred Thespians, three hundred Spartans, and the suspected Thebans, and with these



the helots. In the morning, Xerxes sent his troops to attack the Greeks. The Persians fought under blows; the Greeks with the desperation of men who were dying, and that in a noble cause: when their spears were broken, they fought with their swords; and the little band dealt destruction on every side of them. If before, when fighting with some caution, because with some hope, they had repelled that host, what must have been their bold daring now, when, reckless of life, they struggled for vengeance? But the Persians were now behind them; and the two streams united to overwhelm them. Leonidas himself died early in the battle, and a severe struggle was made for his body, which the Greeks finally carried off. At length driven back, the Greeks took their last stand by the Wall, and gradually sunk beneath the javelins of their enemies. The Thebans, it is said, begged for quarter. The head of Leonidas was cut off, and his body hung on a cross to gratify the impotent revenge of the Persian monarch. A marble lion was raised to his memory, and pillars were placed over the graves of the patriots; where they fell, there they were buried. Ephialtes, the traitor, had a price set on his head; but he fell some years after, by the hand of a Trachinian. The real glory of Leonidas was not so much in the high and heroic devotion, which at first sight strikes us, as in his unflinching obedience to the laws. The epitaph inscribed on the tomb was beautiful in its simplicity, and contains this unassuming testimony to their merits:

“ Stranger, our hest to Sparta bear and tell,  
That here obedient to her laws we fell.”

One Spartan alone returned to his country. Eurytus and Aristodemus, from sickness, were away from the battle. The former made his helot lead him to the place where they were fighting, and he fell with the rest. Aristodemus was disgraced on his return; but he afterwards retrieved his character, as we shall see, at Plataea.

Xerxes asked whether he must expect many such obstacles in conquering Greece, and Demaratus told him there were eight thousand men who were willing to do as Leonidas had done, and advised him a different course of action from that he was intending to pursue. His advice was unheeded. Xerxes required another lesson to convince him that numbers alone could not subdue Greece.

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## CHAPTER X.

*Advance of Xerxes—Delphi—Capture of Athens—Designs of the Greeks—Battle of Salamis—Flight of Xerxes.*

THE pass was now free to Xerxes, and he advanced through Locris and Doris to Phocis. When he arrived at Panopeus, he divided his army, and sending a large body to seize and plunder the temple of Delphi, with the main body he advanced into Bœotia. The Delphians, in fear of their approach, inquired of the oracle whether they should bury the treasure. The answer was, that the god was able to guard his own. Sending their wives and children to Achaia, they took refuge themselves in Parnassus, leaving only sixty men and the prophet in the town. When the Persian army approached, the sacred arms descended of their own accord from the temple, a storm of thunder, lightning, and rain burst on the astonished invaders, and from Parnassus huge masses of rock rolled down, crushing and confounding them. Two warriors of more than mortal size, were said to have joined in completing the rout and slaughter.

Thespiae and Platæa were the only towns of Bœotia which did not Medize, and they paid the penalty to Xerxes in their ashes. The inhabitants had deserted them, and the warriors of the former had probably almost all of them perished at Thermopylæ. The towns were now burnt to the ground; and Athens

might soon expect the same. Themistocles had at length persuaded them to desert the city, and leave it to the patron goddess. The families were removed to Salamis, Ægina, and Trœzen; the fleet assembled at Salamis. The whole amounted now to three hundred and eighty ships, and was under the command of Eurybiades.

The acropolis of Athens was on a rock, rising to a great height, accessible but in one place. The Persians began discharging arrows with lighted tow against the wooden defences, which by this means they destroyed. But capitulation was refused; and all attempts at ascent were stopped by the besieged rolling ponderous stones down upon them. At length an unguarded spot was found, and the acropolis taken. Some few of the Athenians threw themselves from the walls and perished, whilst others were butchered by the Persians. The temple was plundered, and the citadel given to the flames. This temporary and partial success of the expedition, the chief offending town being now taken, struck a panic among the Greeks. The Peloponnesians, as selfish as they were short-sighted, were fortifying the Isthmus, and many concurred in wishing to retreat from Salamis, and give the Persians battle off the shore of the Peloponnese. The burning of the acropolis decided them, and they were resolved to set sail in the morning. Mnesiphilus, a friend of Themistocles, having suggested to him that all would be lost if the plan of retreat were put into execution, the latter visited Eurybiades, and attempted to persuade him to the contrary. A council was held, at which Themistocles, with energy, showed the extreme danger of retiring, but was opposed by many, especially Adimantus, of Corinth, who told Eurybiades not to heed a man that had no country, in allusion to the recent destruction of Athens. Themistocles found that his last resource must be in the threat that the Athenians would take away their ships, in number about two hundred, and

sail to Italy. This threat gained a resolution to remain and fight at Salamis.

An earthquake shook the land and sea at sunrise; and in the Thriasian plain a cloud of dust, as of three myriads of men, was seen by Demaratus coming from Eleusis, while he heard the cry which he knew was the mystic Iacchus: he told his companions that if that cloud of dust moved towards Peloponnesus, it foretold ruin to the land army; if towards Salamis, ruin to the fleet. They gazed on it till they saw it float over the divine island, announcing destruction to the invaders. The Persian fleet came down the Euripus, and entered the Athenian harbour of Phalerum, to the number of twelve hundred ships, for its losses had been replaced by recent additions. The Grecian fleet lay off Salamis, one ship from Italy being the only foreign succour it received. Xerxes took the opinion of his commander as to the course he should pursue, whether he should fight or not. All but Artemisia, queen of Caria, were for immediate action. This wise princess alone advised Xerxes to lead his land army to Peloponnesus. The king praised her wisdom, but followed the majority. The invading fleet made for Salamis, but night prevented an engagement. Again the Greeks were for retreating, under the pretext that they could act better in concert with the land army under Cleombrotus, off the Isthmus, than where they then were. Themistocles saw no time was to be lost, and sent Sicinnus to the Persians, desiring him to say that the Athenian commander was their friend, and that if they attacked at once they would obtain an easy victory: so determined was he to save Greece, so careful in all his greatness to secure a refuge in time of trouble at home. The Persians believed him, and occupied the strait behind the Greeks, who were now surrounded. Aristides came to his greatest enemy, Themistocles, to inform him of it. The latter bade him go and tell the Greeks of their position, for him they would believe.

Several refused credence; but day dawned, and no doubt was left on the subject.

From a throne on mount *Ægaleos*, Xerxes prepared to view the important conflict, with secretaries around him to record the events of the engagement.

For some time the Greeks lay on their oars, hesitating to begin. A female phantom is said to have appeared and reproved their cowardice. At length a trireme, whether it was an Athenian or *Æginetan* was disputed, began the fight. The Persians in the strait felt themselves confined and unable to keep their order, while their enemies had ample room. *Artemisia* pursued by an Athenian ship, and seeing no hope of escape, ran down a *Calyndian* vessel and sunk it. The Athenians thought from this that *Artemisia* was friendly to the Greeks, and desisting from the pursuit, lost the ten thousand drachms, the price put on the head of the *Carian* princess. The Athenian triremes had reduced the Persians to confusion, and the *Æginetans* fell on and destroyed those who were flying. *Aristides* collected a body of hoplites, and slaughtered the barbarians who were in the island *Psyttaleia*. To the *Æginetans* was adjudged the first, to the Athenians the second, praise of valour. The Persians lost two hundred ships, the Greeks forty; but expecting another attack, they collected their ships, and waited for it in order. But Xerxes had now no thoughts but of flight, and though he did not state this openly, he gladly received the advice of *Mardonius* to that effect: he, *Mardonius*, would remain and subdue Greece—the loss of a few ships and men, the possession of the king, need not dishearten him. *Artemisia* seconded his proposal. Xerxes acceded to it; though had it been the contrary, his conduct would not have been, as *Herodotus* says, at all altered: “neither man nor woman could have prevailed on him to stay.” *Mardonius* was permitted to select three hundred thousand men to complete the subjugation of Greece, and that same night the fleet was ordered to

proceed to the Hellespont and guard the bridge. Themistocles proposed destroying them, but Eurybiades opposing it, Themistocles yielded, doubtless intending to make a merit of what he could not prevent at some future day. To that end, he again sent Sicinnus to Xerxes to assure him that it was through his interposition the bridges were not destroyed. Mardonius accompanied Xerxes as far as Thessaly, where he meant to winter: sixty thousand men escorted him to the Hellespont. The tardy pomp and glittering splendour of that mighty eastern host, which so lately had crossed the sea, were gone; disorder, famine, sickness, and fear, had usurped their place. The winds had done what the Greeks refused to do, and the fleet had to convey the wretched remnant of the army, with the king, across. Xerxes himself proceeded to Sardis, and thence to Persia. His fleet wintered at Cyme, and in the spring sailed to Samos to guard against a repetition of the Ionian revolt.

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## CHAPTER XI.

*Themistocles at Andros—Alexander at Athens—Second capture and burning of Athens—Athenian embassy to Sparta—Battle of Plataea—Battle of Mycale—Siege of Sestos.*

IN the spring (B.C. 479), the Grecian fleet, under Leotychides, the Spartan, and Xantippus, the Athenian, were invited by the envoys from Ionia to come across from Ægina. They proceeded as far as Delos; but, fearing to go further, both parties remained inactive. Themistocles in all his wisdom was not free from the too common fault of avarice; and the fleet being assembled, he took the opportunity of enriching himself under the pretext of punishing those islanders who had joined the barbarians. To Andros he went, bringing with him two powerful gods, as he said,

Persuasion and Force; but the Andrians met him with a pair of deities who never would leave their country, Poverty and Inability. A siege took place, but so vigorous was the defence, that Themistocles was driven to abandon his attempt, and employ his two gods on the other islands, which he did with greater success. His wisdom was the theme of Greece; and Sparta, even with all her jealousy of strangers, gave him a chaplet of olive-leaves, and escorted him beyond their borders with three hundred knights. No stranger besides him ever received such honours at their hands.

Mardonius had learnt a lesson which Xerxes had refused to learn at Thermopylæ, Artemisium, and Salamis. He had promised to subdue Greece, but to that end he saw that he must gain over Athens. To do this he sent them Alexander, the Macedonian, with large promises from the king. The friendship of Persia, their temples rebuilt, the restoration of and even addition to their territory, were offered them; but after all the selfishness of the Peloponnesians, who had retreated to the Isthmus, and left Athens and the Athenians to their fate, after all the evils they had suffered from war, Athens was still true to herself and Greece; and they needed not the hasty message of Sparta to entreat their adherence to their cause. To Alexander they said, that while the sun rose and set, so long would they be foes to him who had destroyed their home and their temples. To the Spartans they replied, that they excused their misapprehension of the Athenian character; for nothing else than this could have led them to suppose that those who had bled so nobly for Greece would now abandon her. They only begged, in return, that they would at once send an army, as an attack might of course be soon expected. Mardonius had no resource but in war; and he pursued it. He advanced to Boëtia, as Athens had expected; but the panic of Sparta was over, and Athens was left to stay the first burst of the

torrent, which threatened again to overwhelm them. Again was the city deserted, and Salamis sought as a refuge. Murychides was sent to offer terms as before; but Athens was not used to utter empty vaunts; and Lycidas, the only man who ventured to propose even to treat with the barbarians, was stoned to death. With equal indignation, though with less justice, his wife and children shared his fate. The envoy was dismissed unharmed.

Mardonius attacked what little had been spared, and the remaining houses and temples were given to the flames. The Athenians now sent to Sparta to beg for succour, but the Lacedæmonians were again occupied with building the wall of the Isthmus, and the Hyacinthia was being celebrated at Sparta. For ten days the ephors deferred even answering the appeal made to them; till fear lest Athens should at length be driven into joining the barbarians, gained what they ought long before to have performed from the common principles of honesty and fair dealing. Five thousand Spartans were sent off at night, each attended by seven helots, under Pausanias, the cousin and guardian of Pleistarchus the king, who was yet a minor. In the morning the ambassadors declared that unless aided at once, they would depart, and the Athenians would join the king. The ephors assured them that the army was some way advanced on its march, and the envoys at once departed with five thousand Lacedæmonian periacians. Herodotus simply remarks, "He cannot tell why, when Alexander came, they were so anxious lest Athens should join the king, and now took no account of it, unless it was that the Isthmus was fortified, and perhaps they thought they had now no great need of the Athenians." It is painful to believe fully the accounts of this transaction. The real truth may have been perverted; and short-sighted as Sparta sometimes was, we can hardly credit such perverse obstinacy in spite of her own interests; for the government there never could have believed that the wall at the Isthmus was a sufficient protection



from the Persian invaders if they lost the assistance of Athens. The story is as Herodotus tells it; its accuracy is a matter of doubt.

The Argives had promised Mardonius to prevent the march of the Spartans, and when they found their project frustrated, they sent word immediately to him. Attica was unfavourable to cavalry, and if Mardonius were defeated, the passes through which he would have to retreat would be favourable to the destruction of his army. He resolved, therefore, to fall back on Boeotia, where he would have a friendly city at hand, and a country more favourable to his operations. Before he did so, he had advanced to Megara, (the farthest point in this direction to which the Persian arms were carried,) on hearing of the approach of the body of one thousand Spartans, whom he hoped to surprise and destroy; but being disappointed in this, he led his army into the Theban territory, and extended his camp from Erythræ to the river Asopus.

At the Isthmus the Spartans were joined by their Peloponnesian allies, and the Athenian army having crossed from Salamis when the sacrifice proved favourable, the allied army advanced to Erythræ, and took up their position at the foot of Cithæron. Mardonius, on finding the Greeks would not descend into the plain, sent his cavalry under Masistius against them. He was an officer second only to Mardonius in rank, and of high personal reputation; but his attempts, though following one another in rapid succession, allowing the Greeks no rest, were unavailing. The Megareans were exposed to the most vehement attack, and sent to Pausanias for relief, and a band of three hundred Athenians answered his invitation for volunteers for the service. Masistius himself was killed, and the barbarians defeated. The Greeks, in want of water, moved towards the fountain Gargaphia, when a dispute arose between the Tegeans and Athenians on their respective rights to be stationed on the left wing; the Spartans having the right one yielded to them. Each pleaded deeds of ancient times, but their victory at Marathon

decided the contest in favour of the Athenians. The Greek hoplites were in number thirty-eight thousand seven hundred, of which ten thousand were Spartans; light troops sixty-nine thousand five hundred. These, with eighteen hundred Thespians, made in all one hundred and ten thousand men; while on the side of the Persians there were three hundred thousand barbarians, together with fifty thousand Greek allies. At Marathon the proportion was probably about five, as now a little more than three to one, in favour of the Persians.

The soothsayers on both sides declared the sacrifices unfavourable to a contest. The Greeks were constantly receiving addition of men and provisions from Peloponnesus; and at the advice of Timagenidas, Mardonius sent a body of horse, who occupied the pass of Cithæron, and intercepted five hundred beasts laden with provisions for the Greeks. Ten days were spent, and on the eleventh Mardonius determined, in spite of the soothsayers, to give battle. At the council of war which he held, and where he declared his intention, Artabazus and the Thebans recommended him to retreat to Thebes, and try the power of Persian gold in separating the allies; but Mardonius was resolute on giving battle the following morning. In the middle of that night, Alexander the Macedonian rode to the Greek outposts and informed them of the intention of the enemy; and as the Athenians were used to the Persian mode of fighting, they took the place of the Lacedæmonians at the right wing. This movement was perceived by, and encouraged Mardonius. He made a similar change in his own army, so as to bring the Persians again opposed to the Lacedæmonians, when the latter returned to their original position, and the armies resumed their order. A herald was now sent from the enemy to taunt the Lacedæmonians with fear; and an attack made by their cavalry was effectual in one way, for they were enabled to choke the Gargaphian spring, and so render it useless.

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This was the chief cause of the Greek commanders determining to retire to a plain near Plataea, if a battle did not take place the following day. As there was no general engagement, in the night the army began to decamp, in doing which it was delayed by one of the generals, named Amompharetus, who conceived that this movement partook more of the nature of a flight than a retreat, and was, as such, disgraceful to Sparta. But his resolution gave way when he found himself deserted, and he slowly followed the main body of the army. Again was Mardonius encouraged by this movement, and at once pursued the Lacedæmonians, who, separated from the rest of the allies, may have amounted to fifty thousand men. The Athenians were out of sight. Pausanias being pressed by the enemy's cavalry, sent to them for aid, but they too were held in check by the Greek auxiliaries of the Persians. The victims were still unpropitious, as the Persians approached, and the Spartans waited for favourable omens, before they would rise against the shower of darts that assailed them. In this distress Pausanias implored the aid of the goddess Herè, whose temple stood by. Immediately the omens were auspicious, and the Spartans rushed forward on their foes. Once more did the Persians yield to the Dorian phalanx; the whole scene was changed, the passive submission to the will of Heaven gave place to a vigorous effort on the side of the Spartans, and they repelled all the efforts of the barbarians. Mardonius himself was killed by a Spartan named Aeimnestus, and his fall decided the contest; the Persians gave way, and fled to their camp, while Artabazus, with forty thousand men, made good his retreat to the Hellespont. The Athenians, on their side, had conquered the Greeks opposed to them, and then came up to the help of the Spartans (who were unaccustomed to sieges), in storming the rampart of the Persian camp. This they soon accomplished, and the barbarians were slaughtered without mercy. The revenge of the Greeks was to

be gratified, and nothing save the lives of all would accomplish this. Three thousand alone are said to have escaped the carnage : the treasures found were immense : the furniture of the tents, and the gold and silver, were collected by order of Pausanias, and a tenth sent to Delphi ; the rest was divided, though a great quantity was secreted by the helots, and purchased from them by the Æginetans. Among the slain on the side of Greece was Aristodemus, the recreant of Thermopylæ, who found on the field of Plataea a refuge from the disgrace which from that day had been attached to his name.

Tradition tells us, that when Pausanias entered the tent of Mardonius, and saw the luxury exhibited even in the camp, he bade the Persian slaves prepare such a banquet as they were used to bring before their master, and then, when the helots had set by its side the simple fare of his country, he invited the Greeks to see what folly must have actuated those who, with such ease and plenty, had come to deprive the Greeks even of their poor possessions. The Greeks buried the dead, nation by nation, the Lacedæmonians being divided into three barrows. Some that were not there, in after-times raised cenotaphs on the field. Among these were some Mantinæans, who coming up too late for the battle, pursued the barbarians flying under Artabazus as far as Thessaly.

On the same day on which the battle of Plataea was fought, the Greeks gained another victory on the coast of Asia. Leotychides, who was in command of the fleet at Delos, being besought by some Samians, sailed to Mycale, where an army of sixty thousand men was encamped under Tigranes. The Greeks landed and carried the rampart raised by the Persians. The Milesians assisted them in the slaughter, and but a few reached Sardis, where Xerxes then was, in safety. The Greeks having plundered the ships, returned to Samos.

It is said that when advancing to attack, the Greeks,

through what means was not known, were impressed with the belief, that on that same day Mardonius had been conquered in Thessaly, and that thus encouraged they procured the victory. Thus, in the last of a series of conquests, as decided as they were unexpected, the religious Greeks attributed their success to a divine arm assisting them; a hand unseen, yet ever stretched out in defence of the weak and oppressed. A proposal was now made to remove the Ionians from the country, but to this the Athenians would not consent. The Samians, Chians, and Lesbians swore fidelity to the alliance. The fleet sailed to the Hellespont to destroy the bridge, but found this accomplished. The Peloponnesians returned home. The Athenians remained and attacked Sestos, which they took, and then returned home, bearing with them the ropes of the bridge, to be dedicated in their temples.

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## CHAPTER XII.

Rebuilding of Athens—Stratagem of Themistocles—Pausanias—His treason—Athenian supremacy—Deaths of Pausanias and Themistocles—Assessment of Aristides—His death—Battle of the Eurymedon—Death of Xerxes.

GREECE was delivered from her enemies, but Athens was a heap of ruins. It was the first care of the inhabitants, on their return, to rebuild their city. With a jealousy which we should have expected, but which after their conduct at the Isthmus nothing can justify, Sparta sent immediately to Athens to represent the impolicy, as they termed it, of raising fortifications outside the Isthmus. Themistocles listened to their plea, that if the Persians again invaded Greece, Athens would be a strong post for them, as Thebes had been before, but saw, through all, their jealousy and fear of the growing power of Athens. Still Sparta was as yet the ally, and perhaps regarded as a

superior state to Athens, and Themistocles perceived that he must have recourse to a stratagem by which Sparta could not be openly offended, and yet the walls should be finished. He persuaded the Athenians to send an embassy to Sparta. Himself, Aristides, and Abronychus, were appointed, and Themistocles, ordering the works to be continued without cessation, departed on his mission. Delaying for some time, on the pretext that he expected his colleagues, he received at length the news that the walls were far advanced, when the Spartans, who sent persons to ascertain the truth, were convinced such was the fact. Themistocles then assured them that Athens was walled in, and was as competent as Sparta was, to judge what was conducive to her own and the general good. Sparta concealed the anger which she felt at their success, and the envoys departed. Nor did the exertions of Themistocles stay here; through him chiefly Athens had become the great naval state of Greece: he now improved and guarded the large harbour of Piræus, and the smaller of Phalerum. Athens was now secure on all sides.

We must now turn our attention to events which were happening out of Greece. The year after Platæa and Mycale, a fleet under Pausanias, the Athenian part of it being commanded by Cimon and Aristides, sailed to Cyprus, and expelled the Persians from that island: it then made for the Propontis, and besieged Byzantium, which surrendered. But Pausanias had not learnt the lesson which he attempted to teach others after the battle of Platæa, and he began to feel too much pride in his elevated position, too great an inclination for the power and luxury of the East. The first slight change from the severe principles in which Sparta had educated him, plunged him at once into treason against his country, and led ultimately to his own disgraceful death. He opened a correspondence with Persia, and offered even to reduce Greece, if Xerxes would give him his daughter in marriage.

But the Ionians were now disgusted with his haughtiness, for he began to affect the Persian dress and manners, and kept even a body-guard of Medes and Egyptians. The allies put themselves under the command of the Athenians. The Lacedæmonians, who had heard of the doings of Pausanias, recalled him, but there was not sufficient evidence to convict him of treason; and though Dorcis and others were sent from Sparta, the allies would not obey them, and the supremacy was now transferred entirely to Athens.

Pausanias renewed his negotiations with Artabazus. He was recalled by a herald, but again eluded inquiry. Turning now to the helots, he offered them citizenship for their support; and though there was now ample evidence, the ephors still hesitated to arrest the king. At length one of Pausanias' messengers, named Argilius, who noticed that none of those who had been sent ever returned, opened the letter entrusted to him, and found a charge to put the bearer to death: he divulged the treason of his master, and proved his guilt. The man took refuge in the temple of Poseidon, at Tænarum, whither Pausanias followed him; and the ephors, who were concealed for the purpose, heard from Pausanias himself the avowal of his crime. They resolved to seize him, but Pausanias fled to the temple of Athene Chalciæcus, and there sheltered himself. They set a guard on him, and when he was expiring with hunger, drew him from the sacred precincts, and, though not immediately, gave him decent sepulture.

Themistocles had injured himself by the success of his measures, and had made himself enemies by his very superiority; and there was probably besides some grounds for the complaint which the Spartans now sent to Athens, implicating him in the guilt of Pausanias. He had been ostracised through his rivals at home, and was now at Argos. Persons were sent to seize him, but he fled to Corcyra, and thence to

Epirus, and trusted himself to the generosity of Admetus, king of the Molossians, whom he knew was his enemy. Admetus was away, but his queen pitied the suppliant; and Admetus, on his return, laid aside his enmity to a feeble foe, and being too weak to defend him, assisted him to escape from his pursuers. Another enemy and a greater received Themistocles. After running great risk of being taken by the Athenians, who were besieging Naxos, whither he himself had been driven by a storm, he arrived at Ephesus, and rewarded the captain of the ship for his fidelity in conveying him safely. The main bulk of his property was confiscated. He proceeded to Susa, and was hospitably received by Xerxes. He, too, promised great things to the monarch whom he once had conquered. In a year he learned the Persian language; and was sent to Ionia, several cities being set apart for his sustenance; but being either unwilling or unable to perform his promises, he put an end to his life, though others relate that he died a natural death.

Thus died one to whom Athens probably owed her existence at that period, and who laid the foundation of that empire, which soon rose to such an astonishing height. Thus were tarnished the names of Miltiades, Pausanias, and Themistocles, once deemed the bravest, noblest, and wisest of Greece. Athens cannot be entirely acquitted of ingratitude, especially in the case of Themistocles. He was banished from the city he had saved, before he even repaired to Persia: the faults of the others were more unprovoked, their claims and their merits not near so great. If the conqueror of Salamis had joined to his extraordinary sagacity, integrity and singleness of purpose, he might have been ostracised from Athens; but he could truly have reproached her with ingratitude, and his name would have been handed down to posterity as honoured as is that of his less conspicuous rival.

Cimon and Aristides meanwhile were actively en-



gaged in establishing Athens in her present position, when the latter found that the Greeks of the islands and coast of Asia Minor were willing to submit to Athens, and under her guidance to continue the war against the Persians. A confederacy, of which Athens was the head, was formed for this purpose, B.C. 477. The task of regulating what should be the contribution of each state, and what burden was to be borne by each, was committed to Aristides the Just. The sum he assessed was four hundred and sixty talents, from contributing to which some were excused, as the Chians, who were bound instead to furnish ships.

Delos was the treasury of Greece, and here the deputies met to consult. The Greek treasurers (*Hellenotamiæ*) were the Athenians; and this measure was the real origin of the naval dominion which Athens afterwards gained. Sparta was still supreme in Peloponnesus; the rest of Greece was independent of both at this time.

Aristides died some few years afterwards so poor, that he was indebted to the state for defraying the expenses attendant on his burial, and the education of his children. The characters of the best are always attacked by some; and Plutarch confines his justice and honesty to private affairs, accusing him of injustice on some occasions when acting for his country: but we had rather believe the higher character given him by Herodotus and others, than the accusations of one who wrote so long afterwards.

Before he died, he was the author of material changes in the constitution of Athens. The property which had been destroyed at the Persian war, had diminished the influence of the higher ranks; and many citizens of inferior grades had merited so well of their country, that their claims to the highest offices of the state, could not be denied. The archonship was opened now to all classes of citizens alike, subject, of course, as heretofore, to the trial before and the scrutiny after office.

Under Athens, as a head, the war was now offensively carried on against Persia. Cimon sailed with a fleet to Thrace, and laid siege to Eion, on the Strymon. Bogen was the governor of this place, and the Persian garrison stoutly resisted the attacks of the Greeks, till the governor, determined not to surrender, threw all his treasures into the river, and having slain his wives, children, and slaves, and placed them on a pile of wood, he set fire to it, and then flung himself into the flames.

Even now the dominion of Athens began to be irksome. The burden she had imposed, produced murmurs first in Naxos; but Cimon appeared at once with a fleet to enforce the payment of the sum which the Naxians had refused to contribute any longer, B.C. 466. Naxos struggled hard, but was compelled at length to submit, and was the first state reduced to the condition of a subject of Athens.

Having heard that the Persian generals had collected a large fleet and army in Pamphylia, Cimon assembled a fleet of two hundred ships at Cnidos, and after having laid siege to and taken Phaselis, he proceeded to attack the Persian fleet and army at the river Eurymedon. He engaged the ships first, and soon put them to flight, capturing two hundred of them, and then landing his forces, he led them against the army, which, though it resisted obstinately, was at length put to flight. The camp fell into the hands of the victors; and Cimon thus effected, in one day, two important conquests. His father gained the first great victory in the Persian wars at Marathon, and Cimon put the finishing stroke to, perhaps, the noblest series of struggles the world has witnessed. The year after the battle of Eurymedon, Xerxes died by an assassin's hand at Susa, and Artaxerxes, his son, succeeded him in the kingdom.

## CHAPTER XIII.

Thasos—Earthquake at Sparta—Third Messenian war—Megareans and Corinthians—Myronides—Phocis and Doris—Battles of Tanagra and Œenophytas—Submission of Ægina—Expedition of Tolmides—Cimon recalled—at Cyprus—his death—Tolmides at Chæronea—Battle of Coronea—Revolt of Eubœa—Invasion of Attica—Thirty years' truce—Samian war—Policy of Pericles.

WE now enter upon that portion of history which will exhibit the rise of Athens, and the memorable struggle which ended in her overthrow. The arms of Greece, no longer directed against natural enemies, now turned against herself: cities split into factions, strife and massacre resulting therefrom, with the grand struggle continuing the while with unabated energy, are subjects which now must occupy our attention; and, if less dazzling, still they are equally or more interesting than those which preceded them. At Athens itself, Cimon headed the aristocratic party, and had for his rival, at the head of the democratic, Pericles, the son of Xantippus, the conqueror of Mycale. To the former, now extremely rich, Athens was indebted for much of the ornament bestowed upon the city, besides works of greater use. The south wall of the Acropolis was built by Cimon, and he began those which connected the city with her ports: the garden named the Academy was laid out and planted by the same person, and the citizens were allowed the use and enjoyment of his own grounds near the town. The character of Pericles was more brilliant, and he himself aimed more at popularity than his rival, while, perhaps, he strove to serve his country even more than he did. Cimon was in favour of the old friendship between Athens and Sparta, which Pericles saw, perhaps without regret, could not long remain unbroken.

The islanders of Thasos were unwilling to resign quietly the right which they supposed they possessed to the gold mines on the coast of Thrace, opposite to them; but Cimon, with a fleet, taught them right was

now only to be supported by might, and compelled them to pay tribute.

The Athenians then sent ten thousand colonists to a place called the "nine ways," where afterwards stood Amphipolis; but these engaging in war with the Edonians, were nearly all cut to pieces by the Thracian tribes.

The Thasians, B. C. 464, had implored the assistance of Lacedæmon; and an expedition into Attica, by the Lacedæmonians, to divert the attention of the Athenians, was only hindered by an earthquake which occurred, and which destroyed almost the whole of Sparta, and great numbers of the inhabitants. The Messenians, who had been reduced to helotism, joined by others of the helots, seized the opportunity of revolt, and chose Ithome as their stronghold of defence. The Peloponnesians, being unable to reduce the rebels, applied to Athens for assistance. Cimon's influence prevailed against that of his rival, and he himself was sent to assist in attacking Ithome. A blockade was resorted to, and with the jealousy always characteristic of them, the Lacedæmonians dismissed the Athenian allies under pretext of no longer requiring their assistance. The Athenians retired in indignation; Cimon was ostracised, and an alliance was formed with the Thessalians, and with Argos, the foe of Sparta, although it had been guilty of Medism.

Soon after the Megareans, angry with Sparta for having allowed the Corinthians to harass them, joined Athens, and put into her hands the port of Nisæa, which the Athenians united by long walls to the city of Megara.

The Messenians having sustained a blockade of ten years, capitulated, B. C. 455, on condition of leaving Peloponnese for ever. They were placed by the Athenians in Naupactus, a place which they had recently taken from the Ozolian Locrians.

The alliance with Megara brought on a war with

Corinth and her allies. Some Athenian troops landed at Halice, but were conquered by the Corinthians and Epidaurians. In a great naval action, however, fought between the Athenians and Æginetans, the latter were defeated, with the loss of seventy triremes. The Athenians landed and besieged Ægina, and some hoplites from Corinth and Epidaurus passed over to its relief. It so happened that a large part of the Athenian forces were in Egypt, whither they had gone to assist Inaros, a Libyan chief, who had revolted from Artaxerxes. The Corinthians and their allies thinking that now was the time to attack Megara, when Athens had her army scattered in such opposite directions, invaded Megaris: but Athens was not daunted or perplexed. Myronides collected all the old men and boys in the city, and marching to Megara, fought an indecisive battle with the Corinthians; but as the latter retired, the Athenians raised a trophy. The Corinthians, twelve days afterwards, attempted to raise a counter-trophy, but were attacked and conquered by the Athenians, who, driving the flying enemy into a piece of ground enclosed by a ditch, prevented their escape by hoplites, placed at the only entrance, and stoned to death every man of them.

It was in the same year, B.C. 457, that the Phocians attacked Doris. Fifteen hundred hoplites from Lacedæmon appeared in Phocis, and reduced it to submission. Bœotia now was struck with the idea of recovering the power she had lost, and made an alliance with Sparta. The Peloponnesians could not leave Bœotia, for the Athenians held guard at the Isthmus. An army was collected against them, which, with a body of one thousand Argives and some Thessalian horse, engaged the Lacedæmonians at Tanagra; but chiefly owing to the desertion of the Thessalians, victory remained with Lacedæmon. The battle of Tanagra was fought in November, B.C. 456; but sixty-two days afterwards, Myronides engaged the Bœotians

at Cænophyta, and completely routed them. The walls of Tanagra were thrown down, and Athens gained ground in Bœotia.

The Æginetans, too, agreed to demolish their walls, surrender their ships, and pay tribute. The long walls to Piræus and Phalerum were completed, and thus Athens had little now to fear. In B. c. 455, Tolmides sailed round Peloponnesus, burned the naval arsenal at Gythium of the Lacedæmonians, took Chalcis in Ætolia, and, landing in Sicyon, defeated those who came to oppose him.

The successes of the Athenians at home were almost counterbalanced by their losses in Egypt. Inaros, whom they had assisted with some ships at Cyprus, had been at last conquered and put to death, while fifty triremes of the Athenians were taken and nearly all destroyed.

In B. c. 453, Cimon was recalled at the proposal of his rival Pericles himself, and about this time a thirty years' truce was completed between Argos and Lacedæmon.

The war was still being carried on against the barbarians. Two hundred Athenian ships sailed to Cyprus, and laid siege to Citium. Sixty of these were despatched to Egypt to assist Amyrtæus, who was holding out against the Persians in the marshes of the Delta. But Cimon died during the siege of Citium, B. c. 449, and the ships being recalled from Egypt, the fleet proceeded homewards. In passing Salamis, it fell in with a fleet of Phœnician and Ciliician ships, which it engaged and defeated. It is said that a treaty of peace, called the peace of Cimon, was about this time concluded with the Persians, though with what truth the assertion is made is questionable, if only from the fact, that Thucydides does not mention it.

In the year B. c. 448, a struggle between the Delphians and Phocians, as to which should have the care of the temple and its treasures, was settled by the

Lacedæmonians, who sent an army and gave it to the former. But they had hardly gone before Pericles led thither an army, and gave the right to the Phocians. The right of first consulting the oracle, which had been awarded to the Lacedæmonians by the Delphians, was now transferred to Athens by the Phocians. Through the rise of the Athenian interest in Bœotia, many of the opposite party had been exiled. These made themselves masters of Orchomenus, Chæronea, and other places, and were gaining such ground as to warrant the apprehension of Athens. Tolmides, therefore, led out an army and garrisoned Chæronea; but as he was returning, he was attacked at Coronea, B.C. 447, by the exiles from Orchomenus, and he himself, with many of his troops, was slain, while those that survived fell into the hands of the conquerors. The Athenians now agreed to a treaty, the conditions of which were the restoration of prisoners, and the evacuation of Bœotia.

In the year B.C. 445, Athens suffered from a variety of attacks, the first of which was the revolt of Eubœa; and Pericles had hardly crossed over to reduce it to submission, when he heard that a revolution had taken place in Megara, where the adverse party, with assistance from Corinth, Sicyon, and Epidaurus, had risen and put the greatest part of the Athenian garrison to the sword; while he learned, at the same time, that an army from Peloponnesus was on its march to invade Attica. He led back his troops immediately to defend Athens, but the Peloponnesian army having ravaged the plains to the west, retired: the army was under the command of the young king Plistoanax, assisted by Cleandridas of maturer years as his counsellor. Pericles, it is said, found him accessible by bribes. The story was believed at Sparta: Cleandridas became an exile, and was condemned to death in his absence. Plistoanax, too, had to leave his country to avoid the heavy penalty to which he had been sentenced.

Pericles now returned to Eubœa, which he subdued, and having expelled the inhabitants of Histiaæa, he gave the town to Athenian colonists.

Weary, perhaps, of these struggles, Athens gladly agreed to a truce made for thirty years with Sparta. The Athenians had been in possession of Trœzen, Pegæ, and Nisæa, with some hold on Achaia. It was evident that the great aim of Sparta was to liberate the Peloponnese entirely from their influence, and it was accordingly made a condition of the truce, that these places should be restored, or left by Athens, and this being at once conceded, the thirty years' truce was concluded between Athens and Sparta, with their respective confederacies.

In the sixth year after the thirty years' truce began, a war took place between Samos and Miletus, both allies of Athens. The latter being worsted, applied to Athens. Forty triremes appeared at Samos from Athens, and a democracy was established, while hostages were taken of the Samians and left in Lemnos. But those who were opposed to the democracy and had fled, aided by Pissuthnes the Persian governor of Sardis, passed over to Samos at night, regained the hostages from Lemnos, delivered all the garrison to Pissuthnes, and revolted; and Byzantium immediately followed their example.

Pericles sailed to Samos with forty-four triremes, sixteen being sent to Caria to oppose the Phœnicians, and collect allies from Chios and Lesbos; forty vessels from Athens, twenty-five from Chios and Lesbos, soon afterwards joined Pericles, who landed his troops, and invested Samos by land and sea. The Samians gained a slight advantage when Pericles had left the island for a time to meet some Phœnician ships, which he expected were approaching; but he soon returned, and with him ninety more ships which had arrived from Athens, Chios, and Lesbos, for the blockade of Samos; which yielded in eight months, on the usual conditions of demolishing their walls, giving hostages,



surrendering their ships, and paying the expenses of the war.

Few years of rest intervened between this and the celebrated struggle named the Peloponnesian war. Athens had undergone many changes since Solon legislated for her. Cleisthenes and Aristides had gradually rendered her in turn more democratic; but Pericles was the author of those measures which reduced Athens, even in his days, to an unbridled democracy. The rise of Pericles himself was something similar to the rise of his country. The son of Xantippus, the victor of Mycale, was the pupil of Anaxagoras, as deeply read in political science as he was capable of carrying the principles he held into practice. But, like Athens in the times immediately preceding her rise to dominion, he had been opposed by powerful rivals. Cimon had long maintained the influence of the aristocratic party, and after he was ostracised, recalled, and died, his kinsman Thucydides became the leader of the party adverse to Pericles. He also suffered ostracism, which he had hoped to inflict on his more successful adversary, and Pericles remained the monarch of Athens. He diminished the authority of the court of Areopagus, which, composed as it was of archons who had served the office with repute, gave great influence to the aristocracy: he introduced the practice of paying the jurors, and raised in general the power of the Demus, while he himself succeeded in swaying all at his own will. Athens was now, as he himself said, a tyranny; but he, while he lived, was the tyrant. He raised the annual tribute of her allies to six hundred talents, and taught the Athenians that despotic tone which they exercised from this time towards them. Under him the Athenians were more cultivated, more polished, more powerful than any nation in Greece. The city itself was ornamented with works the most splendid and the most useful; among these were the completion of the long walls and the addition of a third, the restoration of the

temples, and the building of the Parthenon and the Propylæa. He led the people his own way, but the way he chose was for their good. Unstained at least with the charge of avarice, he was regarded with reverence by those whom he directed; and never for his private ends did he advise, as some of his predecessors had, a proceeding which he believed would be publicly injurious. If we cannot shut our eyes to the fact, that one so wise as he must have foreseen that in other hands the influence he held would be misapplied; if he must have known that by raising the power of the mob, he was gradually undermining the constitution of Athens; we must admit that, though probably foreseeing this, he, through that very wisdom, judged the best he could for Athens at this time, and gave the rising body the privileges which could not longer be withheld after the concessions gradually made to them; and then moderated and curbed them with all the vigour and discretion of his wonderful intellect. He did foresee the evils which were coming on Athens, and he warned her of them; but with that warning he told her, if she adhered to the line of policy he directed, she would remain on her throne with all its splendour and power undiminished. She did not hearken, and his prophecy was verified.

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## CHAPTER XIV.

*War between Corcyra and Corinth—Siege of Potidæa—Causes of the Peloponnesian war—First and second years of the Peloponnesian war.*

THE island of Corcyra had been colonized from Corinth, and had increased in naval power and commercial wealth. In course of time it withheld the homage and obedience usually paid to the mother-state, and a breach thus formed between two cities which ought to have been most firmly allied, ended in open enmity.

The Corcyreans had in their turn colonized, and

had founded a city named Epidamnus on the coast of Illyria, which, however it flourished in other respects, was troubled by internal discord. The nobles who had been expelled by the Demus, B.C. 435, joined the barbarians, and harassed their adversaries in the city. These sent to the mother-city to beg her interference, but Corcyra refused to act in the matter. Directed by the god at Delphi, they applied to the Corinthians, who, to gratify the anger they felt towards Corcyra, sent colonists and a garrison to Epidamnus. The Corcyreans now sent, desiring the Demus to receive the exiles and send away the Corinthians; and their command being disobeyed, they despatched forty ships and laid siege to the town. When the Corinthians heard of this, they collected a fleet of seventy-five triremes, and an army of three thousand hoplites; on which the Corcyreans in alarm sent to offer to refer the question of the colony to any town on which they might agree, or to the Delphian god. To this the Corinthians agreed, on condition that the siege of Epidamnus were raised; but this being refused, they put to sea, and engaging a fleet of eighty Corcyrean ships in the gulf of Ambracia, were defeated with the loss of fifteen triremes. On the same day Epidamnus surrendered, and the Corinthian captives were kept as prisoners; the rest were sold.

The next year, the warlike preparations of Corinth induced Corcyra to send to Athens to try to gain an alliance. Corinth also sent an embassy thither, and an assembly was held, at which it was agreed to form a defensive alliance with Corcyra, and ten ships were accordingly sent thither. A fear of ever having the second naval power of Greece opposed to them, doubtless influenced the Athenians, but having this allied to them, they dared even risk a struggle with the Peloponnesians.

A fleet of one hundred and fifty ships from Corinth, met one hundred and ten of Corcyra in action. The success was at first divided, but after a time the Cor-

cyreans were routed, and the Corinthians gave no quarter. During the engagement, the ten Athenian ships had kept moving backwards and forwards without taking any share in the action; but when the Corcyreans again formed their line of battle, the Athenians joined them, no longer willing to remain inactive. The Corinthians however had perceived twenty Athenian triremes approaching, and retired. On the next day the fleets prepared for action, but no engagement took place, and the Corinthians sailed home. On both sides trophies were erected: by the Corinthians for their previous victory; by the Corcyreans, because their enemies had refused to engage. And now the Athenians also returned homewards.

The main object of Corinth was now to create enemies to Athens. Potidæa, in the isthmus of Pallene, was originally a Corinthian colony, but was subject to Athens. Their fidelity was questionable; and orders were sent to them to destroy their walls, and send away the magistrates, who came annually from Corinth: while, on the other side, they were urged by the Corinthians and Perdiccas, king of Macedonia, to revolt. Messages from Potidæa to Athens gaining no favourable answer, while those of Sparta were met by a promise of Attica being invaded on condition of a revolt, the Potidæans, Chalcidians, and Bottiæans, at once threw off the yoke of Athens.

The Athenian force laid siege to Pydna in Macedonia, and with a reinforcement from Athens of forty ships and two thousand heavy-armed troops, compelled it to surrender, and Perdiccas to become an ally of Athens. Their forces now proceeded against the allies who were encamped at Olynthus, with Aristeus in command of the infantry, and Perdiccas in command of the horse. The left wing, where Aristeus was, was successful, but the Athenians conquered the other, and in the end, gained the victory. They lost one hundred and fifty men, and their general, Callias. One thousand six hundred hoplites came out under

Phormio, and Potidæa was blockaded by land and sea.

The Corinthians were now more indignant than ever; and a meeting was convened at Lacedæmon, to determine whether the Athenians were not guilty of breaking the truce. All who had any charge to make against them were invited. Ægina sent, though secretly. Megara complained that they were excluded from the ports and markets of Athens. Corinth spoke out, and inveighing against the ambition and tyranny of Athens, declared the necessity of their being stopped in time. An Athenian embassy which happened to be there, defended their country, and showed how she had risen, and how she had obtained her power by honourable means; and though not denying the rigour she exercised, said she only acted on principles which were common to all, and that, in all probability, others would have acted in her place with greater severity and less justice. They advised peace for the sake of all, but they should not decline war. The aged king, Archidamus, pointed out the advantages Athens would possess in a war, and recommended peace, at least for the present, while in the mean time they might make all necessary preparations for hostilities. Sthenelaidas, the ephor, cried out roughly for war, and the majority sided with him. The oracle at Delphi was applied to, and the god assured them of success, if they acted vigorously, and promised his own unqualified assistance.

A congress again assembled at Sparta, and Corinth, speaking last, reminded them once more of the power of Athens, which required at length to be checked; and suggested plans for the increase of their own resources, and the diminution of those of Athens. War was resolved on; but before commencing hostilities, a message was sent to Athens, requiring the expulsion of those hereditarily polluted by the blood shed in the disturbances connected with Cylon. This was aimed at Pericles, who was an Alcmaeonid by

his mother. The Athenians replied by desiring the Lacedæmonians to free their city from the iniquity of Tænarum, where some helots had been dragged from the temple of Poseidon and been slaughtered; and of the sanctuary of the Chalcioecus, where Pausanias had expired. An embassy from Sparta demanded that the Athenians should retire from Potidæa, leave Ægina independent, and open their harbours to Megara. This was, of course, refused; and at the third and last time, the ambassadors spoke out plainly, demanding the release of the Greeks under Athens to independence, as the sole condition on which the peace should be maintained.

An assembly was held, at which Pericles firmly and wisely recommended war: concession would be of no avail; resistance must be: and the naval power, position, and skill of Athens would give them great superiority. Still he was willing to submit their differences to an equitable decision.

But war was now begun by a treacherous attack of the Thebans, made at night on Platæa. The attempt failed, and a number of Thebans fell into the hands of the Platæans, who sent an account of the transaction to Athens. The Athenians at once despatched a messenger to desire the Platæans to do nothing to their prisoners till they themselves should arrive: but the message came too late, and the Thebans, in number one hundred and eighty, had been put to death in cold blood. The thirty years' truce was declared broken, and both sides openly prepared for war.

Oracles and prophecies foretold the mighty struggle which was about to commence, and which the children of those who fought in the Persian wars were eagerly expecting. Even "holy, immoveable Delos" shook, and it was regarded as an extraordinary omen. Sparta stood forth in the character of the defender of Grecian independence, while Athens experienced the hatred of those subject to her, and the dread of those who were not. Still there were sufficient voluntary or

compulsory allies belonging to her to make men of greater years and experience tremble at the thought of attacking her, while she had Pericles to direct her operations.

The Lacedæmonians were joined by all the Peloponnesians, except the Argives and Achæans, who remained neutral, by the Megareans, Bœotians, Locrians, Phocians, Ambraciots, Leucadians, and Anactorians of Acarnania. Those on the coast supplied the navy; the Bœotians, Phocians, and Locrians, the cavalry. On the side of Athens were the Chians, Lesbians, and Corcyreans, who furnished ships; the Plataeans, Messenians of Naupactus, Acarnanians, Zacynthians, towns on the coast of Asia and Thrace, and the islands of the Ægean, except Melos and Thera; hoplites to the number of twenty-nine thousand, horsemen twelve hundred, and sixteen hundred archers; while her navy consisted of three hundred triremes, without counting those of her allies. Six hundred talents, annually paid by her subject allies, coined gold to the amount of six thousand talents in the Acropolis, with valuable spoils, utensils, and offerings, in worth five hundred talents, were the chief resources of Athens, with which she had to carry on the war; which, though it was the natural result of her practices for years, began through her injustice, and ultimately ended in her overthrow. The policy of Pericles was to make Athens his sole stronghold, leaving Attica to the attacks of the enemy, while he continued ravages from time to time on the coast of Peloponnesus. Averse as they were to the course he suggested, the Athenians were prevailed on to leave the country, now fully recovered from the aggressions of the Persians, and to retreat to the city. Their cattle was sent to Eubœa; their homes were destroyed by their own hands. The whole city, even to the walls and the temples, was thronged with the crowd who pressed in. The entire circuit of Athens was one hundred and forty-eight stadia, or about sixteen

miles, and the walls were so strong, that, as a fortified place, it could defy the attacks of men, so long as her ships maintained their power and could introduce supplies. An invasion of Attica, under the king Archidamus, during which the plains of Eleusis were ravaged, formed the commencement of the war. He had hoped that Athens would come to terms before her lands were injured, and was blamed on his return for this his delay. He advanced as far as Acharnæ, one of the principal demes<sup>6</sup> of Attica; and it was with difficulty that even Pericles could restrain the Athenians within the walls. A few Athenian and Thessalian horse were sent, and a skirmish took place; but no decisive results followed, and the Peloponnesians retired. In the mean time, one hundred Athenian and fifty Corcyrean triremes had sailed round to Peloponnesians, and attacked Methone, which town was saved by the active assistance afforded by a young Spartan named Brasidas, whose name is so conspicuous in the later history of the war. The Æginetans were regarded as the chief causes of the war, and were now expelled by the Athenians from their island, to whom the Lacedæmonians gave the town of Thyrea, on the border of Argos and Laconia. An alliance was formed between Athens and Sitalces, king of Thrace, and Perdiccas, king of Macedonia. One thousand talents were laid up for a great emergency, and one hundred ships set apart for the same purpose. In the autumn of the same year, B.C. 431, the first of the Peloponnesian war, Pericles invaded Megaris with ten thousand Athenians, and three thousand metœc hoplites<sup>7</sup>, the largest army that was mustered by Athens during the war; which, as the object of the expedition must have been unresisted devastation,

<sup>6</sup> The "demes"—from *δήμος*, were divisions of Attica: something similar to our parishes. For a full account of them, the reader is referred to Dr. Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities, on the word "Demos."

<sup>7</sup> "Metœcs" were aliens suffered to settle in the city: but without enjoying civic rights. The "Hoplites" were the heavy-armed.



confirms the statement of Plutarch, that it was a part of the oath taken by the generals on entering office, to invade Megara twice during the year : that it was, in fact, practised, is told us by Thucydides himself.

In the winter, according to custom, the public burial of those who had fallen in the war took place in the Ceramicus, and Pericles was chosen to deliver the funeral oration. His speech is preserved, at least in substance, if not in the original words, by Thucydides, and is a perfect model of a sublime panegyric,—high praises of the deceased, united with consolations for the survivors, and encouragement to others to follow their glorious examples.

In the second year of the war, B.C. 430, a second invasion of Attica, by the Lacedæmonians, and an attack on the coast of Eubœa, were returned by an expedition again, under Pericles, against Epidaurus, Trœzen, and Hermione, during which Prasizæ, a town of Laconia, was taken and destroyed. On their return, the Peloponnesians had departed, but an enemy far more fearful had taken their place. The celebrated plague, which is supposed to have come from Egypt through Asia to Greece, had begun in Athens. Favoured by the densely-crowded state of the houses, its ravages were dreadful indeed. While its physical effects were awful, its moral were still more melancholy : a despair of remedy, or lasting happiness, since death might be expected every hour, led the way to a laxity of manners, and a disregard of religion, which broke down all the barriers of conscience, and hurried men to seize each moment of vicious enjoyment, utterly reckless of what might be the consequence ; disregarding all restraint of law, human and divine. It was remarkable that Athens and the Athenians, though dispersed in different parts of Greece, and elsewhere, were the chief victims of the pestilence. Communicated by those who came from Athens to those who were absent, its attacks were so violent, that when Hagnon sailed to Potidæa with four thousand men,

he lost in forty days fifteen hundred of his troops, and communicated the disease to those who were there under Phormio.

Irritated by the attacks of the enemy, by the inconvenience of their mode of living, and above all, by the terrible infliction of the plague, the Athenians soon accused Pericles as the author of these evils. An assembly was called, at which the object of party calumny, and complaints of the discontented, defended himself with his usual power. He submitted to pay a fine and resign his office : he well knew the character of those with whom he had to deal, and that it would not be long before they would again demand his services.

Some Lacedæmonians and other ambassadors, on their way to ask help of the king, were seized during this summer by Sadocus, son of Sitalces, and surrendered to the Athenians, who put them to death, in retaliation for the course pursued by the Lacedæmonians, who had treated in the same manner all merchants, Athenian or not, who were unfortunate enough to fall into their hands. Phormio sailed to assist the Acarnanians and Amphilochians with thirty ships against the Ambraciots, and afterwards took his stand at Naupactus, to keep guard in the Corinthian gulf. The surrender of Potidæa was one of the last events of the second year of the war. The inhabitants were allowed to depart, the men with one, the women with two garments, and some money ; and even for granting them terms like these the generals were blamed at home.

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## CHAPTER XV.

The third, fourth, fifth, and sixth years of the Peloponnesian war.

IN the spring of the third year of the war, B. C. 429, Archidamus led an army against Platæa, and after

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some parleys and delay, commenced hostilities with all the energy in his power. A wall of circumvallation was built around the city to prevent escape, and a mound raised against one part of the city wall, from which to carry on the attacks. The besieged raised their fortifications in their turn, and by means of a framework covered with hides and leather, saved themselves from the darts which assailed them. They undermined the mound of the besiegers, and, by removing the earth, rendered the labour of those without comparatively fruitless. Still they could not trust to their numbers for ultimate success; and they built a semicircular wall within the city, which would have to be carried in the event of the besiegers succeeding against the first. Machines for injuring the walls were met by engines for defence; and an attempt to set the city on fire, which had nearly succeeded, was baffled by a sudden storm of rain. No course was left but a blockade, and this was resorted to. A sufficient number were left to guard the city; the main body of the army separated, leaving in Platæa eighty Athenians and four hundred Platæans, with one hundred and ten women. In the mean time Cnemus had been sent from Lacedæmon at the request of the Ambraciots against Acarnania. With his barbarian allies, he advanced in three divisions on the town of Stratus, but owing to the rash haste of the Chaonians, who hoped to have the glory of taking the town, they fell into an ambush laid by the Stratians, and the Greeks returned home without any success. It was the same day on which the battle of Stratus was fought, that Phormio defeated a fleet of forty-seven ships which were going to co-operate with Cnemus. He had been watching for them with twenty Athenian ships, and when they had crossed half the distance from Patræ to Acarnania, he came up with them, when they could not avoid fighting. He waited for a wind which blows every morning down the gulf, moving round and round them. As the wind rose,

the Peloponnesian ships, which were formed in a circle, were driven against one another and fell into confusion. Phormio seized this moment for attack, sunk one of the enemy's ships, took twelve, and put the rest to flight. Brasidas was now sent out with two other officers to assist Cnemus. Phormio sent to Athens for aid, but twenty ships which were granted him had orders to touch at Crete in the way, and arrived too late for the battle which ensued. The Peloponnesian fleet now amounted to seventy-seven ships, and were lying off Panormus in Achaia. Phormio's post was at Anti-Rhion. For six or seven days the fleets lay opposite each other—the Peloponnesians anxious to fight in the gulf, Phormio believing his sole chance would be in open sea. A feigned attack on Naupactus, which Phormio was obliged to defend, drew him into the gulf, and an attack at once followed his movement. Eleven Athenian ships escaped out of the gulf; of the remainder, one was taken, the rest forced on shore. The eleven ships were pursued by twenty Peloponnesian; but owing to the gallant action of one of the Athenian captains, the pursuit was stopped, and the Athenians rallying, put their enemies in turn to flight. Both sides raised trophies, but the real victory lay with Phormio and the Athenians. Before the separation for the winter, it was resolved by the Peloponnesians to make an attempt on the Piræus. Want of courage, or some other impediment, prevented the attack, which, as the harbour was unguarded, would probably have been successful. The attempt conferred a benefit on Athens, for the Piræus from this time was more strictly guarded.

In this year Athens lost her truest friend and servant, the great Pericles. The plague had deprived him of all his legitimate children, and clouded the last days of the greatest of ancient statesmen. His own death, according to some, was owing to the same cause. Contrary to the law, which he himself had in-

roduced, that none but children of Athenian father and mother could enjoy the rights of citizenship, the son born to him by Aspasia, and therefore illegitimate, was enrolled by his country with his own name among the list of true citizens. He must have known, too, as we have said above, that the power he exercised so wisely himself, was about to pass into hands less experienced and less honourable; and if he was consoled by the sure belief that he had granted no licence but what could no longer have been withheld, or had used justly and for his country's good the immense power held by any demagogue, he could not but look sadly forward to the downfall of Athens, which he must have anticipated, though he did not live to witness.

Archidamus began the fourth year of the war, B.C. 428, by an invasion of Attica. The army remained in the enemy's country so long as provisions lasted, and then dispersed. But Athens suffered about this time a blow more grievous from another quarter. Lesbos, with the exception of Methymne, having long intended it, now openly revolted. Their walls were strengthened, and harbours secured, and a fleet of forty Athenian ships, which came to compel submission, after some fighting, granted a truce to send deputies to Athens. A trireme was despatched at the same time to Peloponnesus for assistance. The first mission was unsuccessful; the second procured the alliance asked, and promise of assistance. In some engagements which took place, the Mityleneans conquered the Athenians, and they afterwards attacked Methymne, and strengthened their own posts. Paches now came from Athens with one thousand hoplites, and Mitylene was completely shut in.

In the winter the Platæans having received no aid from Athens, and provisions becoming scarce, determined on attempting an escape. A dark and stormy night was selected; and at a little distance from one another, the daring band mounted the wall. Many had accomplished this, when one threw down a tile

and alarmed the guards. But an attack, according to agreement made from within in another quarter, distracted the attention of the besiegers; and though three hundred men, who were on the look out for any such emergency, had been to the spot, the Plataeans got safely across the ditch, and, with the exception of seven who went back, the whole number escaped. To mislead their pursuers, they hastened several stadia towards Thebes, then turning to the mountains, made their way to Athens.

The assistance afforded to Lesbos by the Peloponnesians was tardy. Alcidas, in the fifth year, B.C. 427, proceeded with forty ships to Lesbos; but food was scarce, and a proposal of Salæthus to arm the Demus for a sortie, ended in the people declaring that if the rich did not distribute corn, they would surrender the town. The upper classes resolved to surrender to Paches, gaining first permission to send deputies to Athens, and requiring that until the decision of the Athenians was known, they should remain uninjured. Alcidas having effected nothing, sailed home, being pursued some way by Paches, who now sent, contrary to the treaty, Salæthus and the principal men to Athens.

At Athens the indignation was great against the Mityleneans, and a decree was passed to put to death all the men of Mitylene, and sell the women and children as slaves. This had been done at the persuasion of Cleon, the successor of Pericles in power, the very opposite of him in every thing besides. Vulgar, selfish, insolent, and tyrannical, he built on the ruins of the democracy, which is said to have died with Pericles, the ochlocracy which followed; and now taking advantage of his position, he gained the decree just mentioned. But the Athenians were changeable even in their anger, and those who repented the harsh resolution called another meeting to re-consider it. Cleon again put forth all his energies against the cause of the Mityleneans; but mercy triumphed, and Diodotus

who opposed him, gained a repeal of the decision of the day before. A trireme was despatched to countermand the order, which with great exertion arrived as Paches was about to put it into execution. Still the prisoners sent to Athens, one thousand in number, were put to death, the walls of Mitylene thrown down, and Lesbos divided into three thousand lots, of which three hundred were set apart for the gods, the rest distributed among Athenian citizens, to whom the Lesbians afterwards paid a rent for the right of cultivation.

But if we condemn the cruelty of Athens, we must not pass over the cold inhumanity of Sparta. The Plataeans surrendered to take their trial, as it was called, being assured that none but the guilty should suffer. Five judges came from Sparta, and the accused were simply asked what good they had conferred on the Lacedæmonians or allies during the war. The Plataeans answered, that it was by the advice of Lacedæmon that they were now the allies of Athens; it would, therefore, be hard to condemn them on that ground, for they were bound to assist those who had succoured them, and they were not so bound to assist the Lacedæmonians. Moreover, an injustice had been done them in the first attack on their city, made during a truce. They recounted their exertions and voluntary sacrifices for Greece in the Persian wars, and concluded with a pathetic appeal to the mercy of the judges. But they were, as they expected, called upon to defend themselves in a case already decided. The Thebans said they did not know what all they had said had to do with the question put to them, and attempted to justify their proceedings; and as they were a powerful ally for the war, their arguments prevailed. The Plataeans, in number three hundred, and with them twenty-five Athenians, were separately asked the same question that had been put to them collectively, and then put to death in cold blood. The women were sold, the town ultimately levelled, and the land let to Theban citizens.

One act of bloodshed now followed another. A disturbance brought about by some Corcyrean prisoners, released on condition by the Corinthians, opposed as it was by Pithias, ended in scenes of murder and cruelty, such as open war against natural enemies scarcely ever exhibits, and are enacted, if ever, through the virulence of party rancour and factious animosity. These were new at this time in Greece; and Thucydides mentions the Corcyrean sedition as the first of a long and melancholy series which took place in other states.

Pithias, who was in favour of the alliance with Athens, was murdered in the senate-house; and a resolution was passed not to admit more than one ship at a time of either of the parties at war. The oligarchy fell on and routed the people, who, seizing the Acropolis, gained in turn a victory over their adversaries. The docks were set on fire by the conquered party, lest they should be seized by the Demus. Nicostratus, an Athenian general, had partially reconciled them, and was about to depart, when the autocrats, suspecting designs on them by the people, produced the feeling which they feared; but Nicostratus prevented bloodshed for a time. Alcidas and Brasidas now came with fifty-three ships, and engaged the Athenians with success. Brasidas would have attacked the town, but the indecision of Alcidas hindered the attempt, and there being an alarm of the approach of sixty Athenian ships, they made for home, hauling their ships across the Leucadian isthmus.

Emboldened soon by the presence of the Athenians, the Demus resolved to gratify their hatred. A slaughter of the aristocrats began, which called forth unheard-of atrocities: fathers slew sons; suppliants were dragged forth from temples; and debtors settled their debts in the blood of their creditors. About five hundred persons escaped to the main land, and having fortified a mount named Istone, did from thence all the mischief they could to their enemies. This year



the plague revisited Athens: four thousand four hundred hoplites, and three hundred horsemen in all, died of it; besides these, untold numbers of the people.

In the sixth year of the war, B.C. 426, an invasion of Athens was as usual intended; but the earthquakes which were frequent this year prevented its being carried into execution. Nicias invaded Melos, which refused to become a subject-ally, with little success. Demosthenes, with Procles, sailed round Peloponnesus, and proceeded to Acarnania to act against the Leucadians, but was persuaded by the Messenians to make war on their enemies the Ætolians, with the prospect of immediate success, and an opening for an irruption into Bœotia. He acceded to the proposal, and the Acarnanians refused to join him: but without waiting for the Locrians, he entered upon Ætolia, and was defeated by the inhabitants. Procles himself, with one hundred and twenty Athenians, besides allies, was slain, and Demosthenes obliged to retire to Naupactus. He sent home his ships, but did not dare himself after his failure to return so soon to Athens.

At the proposal of the Ætolians, an attack was now made by the Lacedæmonians on Naupactus, but Demosthenes gained one thousand hoplites from Acarnania, and saved the town. In the beginning of the winter, three thousand Ambraciot hoplites under Eurylochus prepared an attack on the Amphilochean Argos; they took Olpæ, but were hindered in the design on Argos by the Acarnanians, who sent to Demosthenes for succour. A fleet of twenty ships was in the bay, and Demosthenes soon arrived; and in a battle which immediately followed, the Acarnanians gained a decisive victory. Eurylochus and another Spartan general fell, and Menedæus, the remaining commander, prepared to surrender Olpæ, if allowed a free passage homewards. Demosthenes allowed privately what he refused publicly, and thus rendered the Peloponnesians objects of suspicion to their Am-

braciot allies. The Peloponnesians were departing, and the Ambraciots, ignorant of the secret agreement, prepared to follow. The Acarnanians attacked them, and about two hundred Ambraciots were slain. The rest of the Ambraciots coming to the assistance of the allies, and posted on one of two hills named Idomene, were surprised by Demosthenes, who put to the sword almost the whole body: a very few, we are told, got home alive. Demosthenes now having recovered his honour sailed home, and a peace was made with the Ambraciots, the terms of which bear testimony to the great moderation of the Acarnanians.

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## CHAPTER XVI.

The seventh, eighth, ninth, tenth, and eleventh years of the Peloponnesian war.

THE Lacedæmonians again invaded Attica in the seventh year, B.C. 425, but only remained in the country fifteen days. Eurymedon and Sophocles were sent to Sicily, having to take Corcyra by the way, and aid the Demus against the exiles. Demosthenes was sent with them, with leave to employ the fleet where he thought fit, on the Peloponnesians. When coasting Messene, he proposed to land and fortify a promontory named Pylos, pointing out the great advantage it would be to place a Messenian garrison there, who, speaking the same dialect, would have better opportunities of injuring the Lacedæmonians. A storm which delayed them, gained for him what the generals refused: from mere want of employment the fortification was begun; in six days it was completed across the land side, and Demosthenes left with five ships to guard it. The Lacedæmonians soon found it was of more moment than they at first thought; the army returned from Attica, the fleet

was recalled from Corcyra, and escaping the Athenian ships came to Pylos, and invested it by land and sea. At the opening of the harbour of Pylos is the island of Sphacteria. To man this with soldiers, and close the entrance with triremes, would, it was thought, be sufficient to prevent assistance being rendered the Athenians, and four hundred and twenty hoplites were accordingly placed there.

Demosthenes had sent two of his triremes after the Athenian fleet to ask for help; he hauled the other three on shore, raised a paling round them, and took up his post of defence with sixty hoplites where he judged the defence was weakest, and an attack might be expected. Brasidas led the Lacedæmonians to the assault, and was himself wounded; but the defence was maintained successfully till Eurymedon arrived, and as the entrance had not been closed, sailed into the harbour and put to flight the Lacedæmonian ships, capturing five of them. A truce was now proposed by the Lacedæmonians, that they might send an embassy to Athens. The ambassadors on their arrival proposed peace and alliance, and there was a party in Athens to second pacific measures; but Cleon demanded the surrender of the men in the island, and that Pegæ, Nisæa, Trœzen, and Achaia, should be given up before peace should be established; and eventually through him the mission failed in its object. The terms of the truce had been the surrender of the sixty Lacedæmonian ships during the truce, while provisions were supplied daily to those in the island in presence of the Athenians, while no attack was to be made by either party. On some pretext now, the Athenians refused to give back the ships, and hostilities again commenced. The island was guarded by night and day, yet still provisions were introduced, as rewards were offered and liberty to helots who would convey them to those who were shut up. In gales, therefore, they usually made the attempt and eluded the guards, while the Athenians were now beginning

to suffer from want of corn, and sent home word to that effect. A regret now arose that the offer of peace, when it would have been honourable to them, had not been accepted; and Cleon found the only way to defend himself was to deny the truth of the reports: he added to this a reproach on the generals of the year, intended for Nicias, who was present, and who at once offered him troops to accomplish what he thought so easy. Cleon, not thinking him in earnest, accepted, but finding it was really meant, hung back; but Nicias pressed him hard, and the more he resisted the more it was thrust upon him. At length he accepted the command, and declared that in twenty days he would slay the Lacedæmonians, or bring them prisoners to Athens. The people were amused; the wiser rejoiced, for they knew that either he would accomplish what he offered, or they should be rid of Cleon. On his arrival at Pylos, having wisely chosen Demosthenes as his colleague, an attack was made on the island, in which numbers of the Lacedæmonians were slain, and the rest, after a time, surrendered. Cleon's rash promise was actually accomplished, and within the twenty days he sailed with the prisoners into the Piræus. They were kept in chains, and it was declared that their death would follow on the next invasion of Attica.

Eurymedon and Sophocles sailed to Corcyra, and attacked the exiles in the fort of Istone, who after some time capitulated to the Athenians. They were placed in an island till they could be conveyed to Athens, and any one who attempted to escape was to be held guilty of a breach of treaty. The Demus, dreading their enemies should escape from their hands, deceived them into an attempt at flight: they were taken in the act, and shut up in a large building. They were then brought out by twenty at a time, and were made to pass bound together between two rows of armed men, each of whom as he saw his enemy stabbed him as he passed, while others with whips urged on the unwill-

ing victims from behind. Sixty thus perished; the rest discovering it, refused to come out, and died, some by their own hands, some by the darts showered down upon them. This was the last scene in the fearful tragedy enacted at Corcyra, and the Athenian generals having witnessed its conclusion, proceeded to Sicily.

In the spring of the next year, B. C. 424, the eighth year of the war, Nicias reduced the island of Cythera on the coast of Laconia. Megara had been suffering from the attacks of the Athenians, made twice every year, and also from Megarean exiles, who were aristocrats, and who held Pegæ. The Megareans, dreading the return of the exiles, made secret proposals to surrender the city to Athens. Troops were sent from thence in addition to those who already held the port of Nisæa; but the plan failed, and Brasidas, arriving with a force of his own troops, and Corinthians, and others, persuaded the people to admit him to the city. The Athenian force withdrew, leaving a garrison at Nisæa. The exiles were recalled, and soon gaining power, put about one hundred of their enemies to death, and reduced the constitution to an oligarchy.

The failure at Megara was succeeded by another and a greater one in Bœotia. Through the democratic partizans in the town, the Athenians were induced to plan an attack at Siphæ, and another at Tanagra, simultaneously, under Demosthenes and Hippocrates. They had a promise of co-operation from their friends, but the affair was discovered, and Demosthenes found Siphæ strongly fortified. Hippocrates was two or three days later in his attempt than had been determined, and though he made a stand at Delium, and having fortified the spot, left a garrison there, he was pursued by the Bœotians under Pagondas. A battle was fought near Delium, and the struggle was prolonged and obstinate. The Bœotians yielded on the left, but conquered on the

right wing. Pagondas then sent some horse round to fall on the victorious wing of the Athenians, which completed his victory. The Athenians lost their general, and a large number of their light troops, and one thousand hoplites. The Bœotians refused to surrender the dead, alleging the profanation of the temple by Hippocrates; and then having received reinforcements from Corinth, attacked and carried the fortification of Delium. Two hundred Athenian prisoners fell into the hands of the victors, and the dead were now surrendered to the herald who came to demand them.

Brasidas was now in Thrace, whither he had been sent at the request of Perdiccas and the Chalcidians. The historian relates here a deed of bloodshed as taking place at Sparta, which must not be omitted. Dreading the rising power of the helots, the Lacedæmonians offered liberty to those who thought they had shown most courage in arms. About two thousand, who naturally were some of the boldest among them, were thus ensnared. These all disappeared, and the historian tells us no more; but the mind is less shocked at the violent passion which prompted the death of the Mitylenean prisoners, than at this calculating massacre of some of Lacedæmon's bravest servants. Whether it happened or not at this time, the fact is not denied, and is, perhaps, unequalled in atrocity in ancient or modern times. Brasidas had induced the revolt of Acanthus and Stagirus from Athens, and these induced Amphipolis to surrender. He next attempted to take Eion, but was prevented by the activity of the historian Thucydides. It was impossible probably for him to have saved Amphipolis, but he was condemned to exile for twenty years. It is to this we are indebted in the main for his history; for he was able now to witness more than he otherwise would, and had better opportunities of collecting the materials of his invaluable narrative, without being troubled with the duties of office. He consoled

himself with no vain hope that he should complete a work ensuring his imperishable fame.

Brasidas after this gained most of the towns of the peninsula of mount Athos, and the town of Torone, and there passed the winter, securing the places which he had already acquired.

Athens had suffered reverses, and Sparta was too anxious for the fate of the prisoners not to accede to a truce which was made in the ninth year of the war, B.C. 423. Each party was to remain as they were. The Peloponnesians were to send no long ships to sea. Scione had just revolted, and Brasidas was hoping the same success from Mende and Potidæa, when ambassadors arrived to inform him of the truce. Athens demanded the surrender of Scione, because it had revolted during the truce. This was refused by Brasidas; and on word being sent to Athens, Cleon caused a decree to be passed to take the town, and slaughter the people. Mende now revolted, and Brasidas received it as an ally, and expecting the arrival of an Athenian force, sent all the wives and children of the Mendæans and Scionæans to Olynthus, to guard which, he despatched four hundred of his hoplites, and three hundred Chalcidian peltasts. He then proceeded to join Perdiccas in an expedition against Arrhibæus, king of Lyncestis. Sixty triremes now arrived from Athens under Nicias and Nicostratus, with one thousand hoplites and six hundred peltasts, at Potidæa. They then sailed to Mende and Scione; at the latter they had partial success; at the former, they were admitted through the party favourable to them. They restored the government to its old footing. Perdiccas had quarrelled with Brasidas, and renewed his alliance with Athens.

On the expiration of the truce, in the tenth year of the war, B.C. 422, Cleon procured his own election as one of the generals, and encouraged by his success at Pylos, took the command of an expedition to Thrace against the experienced general Brasidas. On his arrival he

attacked Scione, and took Torone; then sailed to the Strymon, and posted himself at Eion. Brasidas, anxious to defend Amphipolis, was stationed on the Cerdylion, a hill at a short distance from that town. Cleon's soldiers soon grew weary of inaction, and despised their commander. To appease them, he led them, with no intention of fighting, to a position on an eminence in front of the town. Brasidas, with as many but inferior troops, did not wish to risk a general action, and re-entered the town. He then prepared for a sally from one gate, while Clearidas, one of his officers, did the same from another. Cleon approached the town, but perceiving that Brasidas was preparing an attack from it, gave orders to fall back on Eion. Brasidas and Clearidas at the same moment rushed forth to the attack, and the Athenian centre was routed; the left wing had fled to Eion. Brasidas had assailed the right, and fell by an unknown hand. His opponent was slain at the same time, but not with the same glory, by a Myrcinian peltast, who intercepted him in flight. The Athenians were entirely routed, and fled to Eion, having lost seven hundred men. The victors lost only seven. Brasidas was buried in the agora of Amphipolis, of which he was afterwards regarded as the true founder.

The two great opposers of peace were now removed, and Nicias, who was of great influence in Athens, was favourable to it.

Plistoanax, the king of Sparta, who had been recalled, was of the same disposition, and the Lacedæmonians both found their attacks on Athens had been of little avail, and were in dread of the Argives, for their thirty years' truce with this people was on the eve of expiring. If these then should join the Athenians, the Lacedæmonians knew they could never be a match for the united body; and anxious, above all, to recover the prisoners who were at Athens, and justly dreading a rising of the helots, they joined in concluding a peace in the eleventh year of the war,



B.C. 421, called from the chief author of it, 'the peace of Nicias.' Both parties were to restore all their conquests, the Athenians retaining Nisæa, as the Thebans would not restore Plataea. Amphipolis was to be restored, the other towns remained independent, paying the tribute imposed by Aristides. The prisoners on both sides were set at liberty. The Bœotians, Corinthians, Megareans, and Eleians, had dissented. Dreading lest their allies, in anger towards them, should unite with the Argives, the Lacedæmonians proposed not only a truce, but an alliance, and this was accepted by the Athenians for fifty years; who then gave the best proof they could of their peaceable intentions, by immediately releasing the prisoners of Sphacteria.

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## CHAPTER XVII.

The eleventh year continued—The twelfth, thirteenth, fourteenth, fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth years of the Peloponnesian war.

ATHENS and Lacedæmon, in framing the first truce, had included their allies, and thus all Greece might be said, nominally, to be comprehended in its terms; but we noticed that there were several dissentients among the allies of the latter, and neither of them held such an eminent position as they did at the beginning of the war. Athens was weakened by revolts and conquests; Lacedæmon was weary of the struggle: the former had lost Pericles, the latter Brasidas. In addition to this, Argos was rising into notice, ambitious of recovering its ancient pre-eminence, and conscious of its importance as the third great power in Greece. It seemed that whichever party gained its alliance, might anticipate certain ultimate success. It is impossible in such a work as this to discuss minutely the political struggles which now began. Rival interests abroad, factious opposition at home,

alliances in nothing but name, hostile parties now united by treaties, formed only to be violated, in rapid succession, present themselves to our attention in the narrative of these years.

When the treaty was completed between Athens and Sparta, and the rest of the allies had gone home, the Corinthians proceeded to Argos, and proposed to form a new Peloponnesian confederacy, of which Argos was to be the head. This was immediately accepted, and the Mantineans, Eleians, and Chalcidians of Thrace, joined the alliance. The Lacedæmonians in alarm sought to do the same, but could not effect what they wished. As the Bœotians still held Panactum, and refused to surrender the Athenian prisoners, the Athenians refused to surrender Pylos. The Bœotians, however, in the twelfth year of the war, B.C. 420, persuaded the Lacedæmonians, on promise of surrendering the prisoners, to join in a separate alliance with them. This was contrary to the late treaty, but was acceded to, and the prisoners were given up, and conducted to Athens: but Pylos, nevertheless, was not restored, on the plea that the Bœotians had razed the fort at Panactum.

Alcibiades now becomes one of the leading characters at Athens, and takes a chief part in the events about to be related. He was the son of Clinias, of noble birth, great wealth, and a relation of Pericles. In morals, he is said to have been extremely dissolute. His family had been originally guest-friends of Sparta, and he had been anxious to renew the connexion, but he had been disappointed by what he considered the neglect of the Lacedæmonians, and hence was now the more strongly inclined for war.

Argos had heard of the alliance of Lacedæmon and Bœotia, and believing that Panactum had been destroyed with the consent of the Athenians, was in dread lest, instead of being the state to determine the struggle, it should have the whole confederacy of Greece turned against itself. A truce was, therefore,

completed for fifty years with the Lacedæmonians. But Alcibiades now was opposed to Sparta, and complained openly of its intentions, and sent privately to Argos to gain an embassy from thence, as also from Elis and Mantinea, asking an alliance with Athens. The Argives, seeing the danger they had dreaded was almost imaginary, sent at once an embassy to Athens. Sparta, in alarm, sent one also. Through the machinations of Alcibiades, which were as treacherous as they were successful, the feelings of the assembly were turned against the Lacedæmonians. An earthquake prevented the decision that day, and Nicias, who had discovered the trick of Alcibiades, proposed on the following day a pacific embassy to Sparta. Ambassadors, of whom Nicias was one, were accordingly sent, but nothing was accomplished; and on their return, Alcibiades succeeded in obtaining an alliance, offensive and defensive, for one hundred years, with Argos, Mantinea, Elis, and their allies.

Corinth was allied to Argos, but declined entering into any compact with their old foes, the Athenians, and, consequently, soon rejoined the Lacedæmonian alliance.

In the year following, B.C. 419, the thirteenth of the war, Alcibiades, who was one of the generals, passed over to Argos, and regulated matters connected with the confederacy. As Epidaurus lay conveniently between Argos and Athens, Alcibiades and his Argive allies determined to conquer it. Under some pretext they invaded the territory, and the Lacedæmonians sent three hundred men to its assistance. But little was done this winter; and in the following spring, B.C. 418, and the fourteenth year of the war, the allies had orders to collect their troops at Phlius. Five thousand came from Bœotia, and two thousand from Corinth. The Lacedæmonians, under their king Agis, were joined by the Tegeatans and Arcadians; the Argives were assisted by the Mantineans and three thousand Eleian hoplites; and by a

skilful movement of Agis, who divided his forces, were surrounded. At the very moment that his victory was certain, the Lacedæmonian king yielded to the proposal for a truce, made by Thrasyllus, one of the Argive generals, and led away his army. Laches and Nicostratus now arrived from Athens with one thousand hoplites and three hundred horse, and with Alcibiades marched upon Orchomenus, which surrendered. The Eleians then proposed to proceed against Lepreum, of which they had been deprived by the Lacedæmonians; and on this request being refused, went home. It was then resolved to march to Tegea. Agis, who had been accused at home for his conduct in granting a truce, now entered the lands of Mantinea. After some delay, a battle was fought, in which Agis, and the Lacedæmonians in the centre, were eminently victorious. The Athenians were surrounded, but effected a retreat. The Mantineans and some of the Argives fled. About three hundred of the Lacedæmonians fell; the Argives lost seven hundred, the Mantineans two hundred, the Athenians two hundred, and their two generals. It was one of the greatest battles that had as yet been fought between the Greeks, and the fame of the Lacedæmonians rose high after it.

One of the main consequences of the battle of Mantinea was, that the plans of Alcibiades were overthrown. The oligarchical party now gained the lead in Argos; and when Agis sent proposals thither of peace, Alcibiades was unable, with all his influence, to prevent an offensive and defensive alliance, which was formed between the two states. Still, in the year following, B.C. 417, and the fifteenth of the war, a resolution was taken at Argos, through which the oligarchs were expelled, and an attempt was made to restore the old state of things: but before the walls, from the city to the sea, could be finished by the Athenians, who were sent for that purpose, Agis arrived and destroyed them.

In the year B.C. 416, and the sixteenth of the war, Athens was guilty of an act which has left a greater blot upon her name than the Mitylenean massacre, because the same demagogue was not alive to suggest this who suggested the former. Melos had before refused to submit, and now a fleet and army were sent against the island, colonized, it should be remembered, from Lacedæmon, and, at any rate, now included in the general peace. A conference was held with the chief men of Melos before hostilities began; but the Melians trusting to the Lacedæmonians for succour, refused immediate surrender. Their town was then blockaded, and in a few months they yielded unconditionally. All the men were put to death, the women and children made slaves, and the land divided among Athenian colonists.

In the seventeenth year of the war, B.C. 415, an embassy arrived from Egesta, in Sicily, to beg the assistance of Athens against Selinus; and the Athenians, overcome by the assurances of the resources of the Egestæans, in which they had been greatly imposed upon, sent Nicias, Alcibiades, and Lamachus, to aid the Egestæans. No one but Nicias firmly opposed the measure, and he had not the influence or eloquence to battle with the ambition and caprice of the Athenians. Sicily presented sufficient advantages, besides those of position and fertility, apparently to warrant such an important expedition; and Pericles, who had warned the Athenians against such undertakings, was no longer there to oppose the magnificent designs of Alcibiades, to whom the conquest of Sicily did but seem an easy step towards the reduction of Italy, Carthage, and Africa. The people were too much attracted by the splendid picture of victory drawn by Alcibiades, to listen to the more prudent counsels of Nicias. He laid before them the difficulty of foreign conquest, and maintaining an army in a hostile territory at all times; but add to this, the evils and difficulty of the war at home, and the expedition seemed

hazardous indeed. With a mixture of wisdom and folly, they yielded to the eloquence of Alcibiades, and made him one of the generals; while they, at the same time, appointed Nicias, whose experience and prudence might, in some measure, counterbalance the youth and temerity of the other. Sicily was, probably, peopled from Italy, and its inhabitants had borne various names, such as Sicanians and Sicelans. The country itself had been originally called Trinacria. Numerous Greek colonies had settled there, but chiefly on the coast.

One hundred triremes and five thousand heavy-armed troops were voted for the expedition, with archers, slingers, and whatever the generals thought necessary. The hearts of the majority beat high with hope of glory and conquest; when, just as every thing was complete, a circumstance occurred, which was regarded by such a superstitious people as ominous in the extreme. All the heads of the *Hermæ* (or busts of *Hermes*) in the city, had been mutilated during the preceding night. Nothing definite was discovered concerning it, but rumours were afloat that Alcibiades was implicated in it; not the less credited, because he had been said to have profanely celebrated the mysteries in private houses, with companions as careless and dissolute as himself. He denied the charge and demanded a trial, but his enemies insisted on the departure of the army, saying that he could return at another time to stand his trial. With mingled feelings of hope and fear, all the population of Athens saw the fleet depart. A general prayer was offered up, and libations poured from gold and silver cups; and the armament left the *Piræus*, and made for *Coreyra*, where the allies were to assemble.

At *Syracuse* the report of the coming armament had hardly been credited, and the advice of *Hermocrates* had been ridiculed and neglected. Meanwhile the allied fleet crossed to *Iapygia*, and then coasted to *Rhegium*. While anchored there, the three ships

which had been sent on, returned from Egesta, with the report that the boasted wealth of the Egestæans was imaginary, and that the suspicions of Nicias, as to their resources, were but too correct. He proposed to his colleague to demand supplies for the sixty triremes they had asked for, to reconcile the Selinuntians to their enemies, and return. Alcibiades naturally with his ambitious schemes, said it would be disgraceful to retire without having effected any thing with so large an army, and proposed to form treaties with the Siceliot towns; and so having induced the subjects of Syracuse to revolt, at once to attack that city and Selinus. Lamachus gave by far the best advice, in proposing to attack Syracuse at once, while the inhabitants were unprepared, and before the terror, excited by their arrival, had entirely subsided; but finding that his arguments did not prevail, he sided with Alcibiades.

Before the return of Alcibiades from Messina, where he had gained only a promise of a market outside the town, the generals proceeded to Syracuse, and sent ten ships into the harbour to proclaim that they had come to restore the Leontines to their country, and invited all who were there of them to join the Athenians. They then returned to Catana and Rhegium for the rest of the fleet, and thence proceeded to Camarina, where they had been encouraged to hope for friendly feelings; but having effected nothing, they returned, and found the Salaminian trireme waiting to recall Alcibiades to stand his trial at Athens. Numberless rumours had been spread, and persons arrested on suspicion. But as every informer mentioned the name of Alcibiades, the feeling ran most violently against him, and he was recalled. He acquiesced with apparent readiness in the order, but, with other accused persons, effected his escape on the return in his own trireme, and in his absence was condemned to death. He soon after proceeded to Lacedæmon. On his departure, the generals sailed to Egesta and Selinus, and took a

town named Hyccara, whose inhabitants they sold for one hundred and twenty talents. The land-force then returned to Catana, whither the fleet also proceeded, under Nicias, who had now received thirty talents from the Egestæans.

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## CHAPTER XVIII.

The seventeenth year continued—The eighteenth and nineteenth year of the Peloponnesian war.

THE Syracusans had gained confidence from the fatal delay of Nicias. Their horsemen advanced to the Athenian camp, and asked if they were come to settle there: but a stratagem was formed to draw their force away from Syracuse, so as to allow the Athenians a strong position in the neighbourhood of the city. It was proposed to them by some Syracusan exiles to station themselves upon the hill named Olympieion; and to do this, the Syracusans were drawn to Catana by a stratagem, while the Athenians got on board their ships, and sailing to Syracuse, encamped under the Olympieion, where they threw up a rampart, and secured their ships.

The Syracusans, on discovering their error, immediately returned, and on the following day a battle was fought on the Helorine road, in which the Athenians exerted all their superior skill against the vigour and courage of their enemies. A thunderstorm, however, which came on, daunted the Syracusans; their left wing fled, and the rout became general. The Athenians returned to Catana, and quartered their troops there and at Naxos for the winter.

Hermocrates consoled his countrymen, and advised a reduction in the number of the generals, which was fifteen, and led to frequent disorder; his suggestions were attended to, and three generals were appointed



with unrestricted power,—himself, Heraclidas, and Sicanus. Forts were raised at Megara and Olympieion, and a wall built, taking in the Temenites, which would force the enemy, even if successful, to have a much larger space to circumvallate. Ambassadors were sent to the Corinthians, who received them, and sent an embassy to accompany them in their mission to the Lacedæmonians. Alcibiades was now here, and disclosed the ambitious views of Athens, which he assured them were not so unlikely to succeed as they supposed, unless they aided the Syracusans by sending them troops and an able general. Lastly, he recommended the Lacedæmonians to take up a position in Attica itself, and from thence to assail and harass the Athenians. In him we have another instance of a favoured son of Athens turning his efforts against his country; but Alcibiades had laid himself open to accusations of the gravest kind, while he could not at all charge her with ingratitude for any real benefits conferred on her by himself; indeed, mainly through him she had entered upon a war which, as it was one most expensive and harassing, was also one which led the way to her downfall. The Lacedæmonians now resolved, in accordance with his advice, to send Gylippus with forces to assist the Syracusans.

During the winter, the Athenians gained many allies among the Sicelans, and despatched embassies to Carthage and Etruria for the same purpose.

In the eighteenth year of the war, B.C. 414, some slight success accompanied an expedition to Megara made by the Athenians, and on the arrival of some more troops from Athens, and some allies from Eggesta, they commenced their works, intending to circumvallate from the harbour Trogilus to the great harbour. The Syracusans were terrified at the rapidity of their operations, and sent some horse to impede them, which were beaten off. A cross wall was then begun by the besieged, which, after being carried as far as was thought necessary, was left to be protected

by a guard. The Athenians made a successful attack upon it, and having thrown the wall down, raised a trophy. The Athenians having now begun a wall from Epipolæ towards the marsh, the Syracusans were induced to commence both a wall and ditch from the wall of the city, through the marsh, so as to cut them off from the harbour. While thus engaged, the Athenians attacked and put them to flight; but afterwards rallying, they charged the right wing of the Athenians, and Lamachus, who had advanced with more boldness than wisdom, was, with some others, slain. But some advantages, gained soon after by the Athenians, discouraged the Syracusans, who now began to treat with Nicias concerning peace. The arrival, however, of Gylippus, at the very time when his approach had almost been despaired of, and a proposal made for accommodation, soon changed the appearance of matters. Having collected allies from the Himeræans, Geloans, and Selinuntians, he marched with five thousand men to Syracuse, and ascended the Epipolæ. The Syracusans were ready at once to engage the enemy, but Gylippus judging them in an unfit condition for action, sent to the Athenians, offering a truce, if they would quit Sicily in five days, which proposal was, of course, rejected. The next day Gylippus sent a party, which took the Athenian post at Labdalon, and on the same day an Athenian trireme was captured in the great harbour. He then began a cross wall from the town, to cut off the communication between the forces of the enemy, which were divided into two portions. Nicias, beaten on land, raised three forts on the headland, named Plemmyrium, and turned his attention to the sea. Gylippus soon led out his forces and gave the enemy battle under the wall, but was obliged to retire, as his horse had not space to act: but having consoled the people, he again attacked the Athenians, and this time, having selected a spot more favourable to his cavalry, he drove the enemy back to their works. This success was followed by the arrival of some ships

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from Corinth, Leucas, and Ambracia, and the prospects of the Syracusans were now brightening.

In proportion as they did so, and there was most need of energy and resolution, Nicias gave way, and wrote a letter at length to the Athenians, (an unusual method, it should be remarked,) requesting that if the army were not recalled, which he strongly recommended, another of equal size should be sent, and he himself, now seriously ill, be allowed to return home. This the Athenians would not allow, but appointed Menander and Euthydemus as his colleagues, until another force could be sent to Sicily.

In the spring of the year, B.C. 418, (the nineteenth of the war,) Demosthenes set sail with sixty Athenian, and five Chian ships, besides twelve hundred hoplites; he was joined by Charicles, who was off the coast of Peloponnesus with thirty triremes, and having ravaged the land of Epidaurus, and plundered Cythera, steered for Corcyra.

Agreeably to the advice of Alcibiades, the Lacedæmonians, under their king Agis, invaded Attica and fortified Decelea, a place about one hundred and twenty stadia from Athens, and commanding the country surrounding it. More troops embarked for Sicily, where Hermocrates and Gylippus had succeeded in persuading the people to risk a naval action. Accordingly, thirty-five triremes from the great harbour, and forty-five from the less, moved out to Plemmyrium. In haste the Athenians prepared sixty triremes, twenty-five opposed to the thirty-five, and thirty-five to the forty-five of the Syracusans. The Athenians conquered by sea, for the fleet from the lesser harbour was defeated, and eleven ships sunk; but Gylippus had in the mean time taken the three forts on Plemmyrium, and the Athenians were now reduced to great difficulties, for as they were lying in the interior of the harbour, every ship that came to them with supplies had to fight its way. The Syracusans were now employed in forming a defence for

the ships by driving stakes into the sea, which the Athenians on their side were as constantly endeavouring to impede.

The Syracusans, when they heard of the approach of Demosthenes, prepared their ships for another struggle, making them broader and stronger to resist the shock of the enemy. An attack was made by land and sea, and the Athenians, who fought fasting, and were taken by surprise, were forced to retire. The victory of the Syracusans had just raised their hopes, when they were dismayed by the sight of Demosthenes and Eurymedon approaching with seventy-three triremes and five thousand hoplites. The former of these commanders at one glance comprehended the position of affairs, and determined to make one great attempt, and, in the event of a failure, to lead the army homewards. With a vigour which in the previous year would have carried every thing before them, and soon numbered Sicily among the subject-allies of Athens, Demosthenes made a night attack on Epipolæ, which had succeeded well, till the arrival of some Boeotians, who repulsed the Athenians, and forced them to retire in confusion. Many, not knowing the country, were cut off in the morning by the Sicilian cavalry. Demosthenes proposed immediate departure; the men were weary and murmuring, and little hope of ultimate success remained; but Nicias, with blind infatuation, opposed his colleague, who was forced to acquiesce. But Gylippus now returned with troops which he had been employed in collecting in Sicily, and Nicias yielded to the wishes of his colleagues; when, unfortunately, an eclipse of the moon took place, and he hearkened to the decision of the augurs, who declared the army must now remain for twenty-seven days longer.

The Syracusans were now bent upon destroying the foe whom they had baffled. Seventy-six triremes came forth, and while the land forces assailed the Athenians, they engaged eighty-six of the enemy's

ships. Eurymedon, who commanded the right wing, extended his line too much, and was himself killed and his ships destroyed, while the rest of the fleet was put to flight. As a slight compensation, the Athenians were successful in the engagement which took place on shore.

The Syracusans, now determined on the destruction of the Athenians, closed the mouth of the harbour with triremes. Nicias and Demosthenes, on consulting the other generals, agreed to attempt to force the passage to Catana, and if that failed, to burn their ships, and retire thither by land.

Wait longer they could not, for they had sent to Catana, ordering them to stop the supply of provisions. They, therefore, prepared one hundred and ten ships, and Nicias having addressed them all, and each particularly, exhorting them to courage and activity, the Athenian fleet moved out to that battle which would secure their retreat, or consign them to their fate.

The Syracusans advanced with an equal number of ships, and the Athenians at the first encounter were victorious. The engagement soon became general, and the feeling with which either party entered it conduced to render it most obstinate. The Syracusans fought for revenge on their enemies, who had attacked them unprovoked: the Athenians fought no longer for conquest and victory, but for life; the army from the shore watched with the interest of men who had all at stake, and their shouts of joy or grief corresponded to what each could see of the battle, as success or the contrary attended the efforts of their countrymen. At last the Athenian fleet was seen to fly, and one loud cry of grief rose simultaneously from the shore. So dejected were the Athenians with this last defeat, that they did not even send to demand their dead. It was resolved to depart that night, and with the sixty ships remaining, to attempt to force a passage; but the sailors refused to serve, and no course was left but a perilous retreat by land.

Through a stratagem of Hermocrates, the departure was delayed till the following day, and Gylippus had then guarded the roads and the fords they would have to pass. The melancholy retreat now commenced: sick and wounded were left of necessity to the barbarity of the enemy, while the miserable remnant of the army set forward in two divisions under Nicias and Demosthenes. Their object was to reach the country of the friendly Sicelans; but beaten back and harassed by continual attacks of the Syracusans, the division under the command of Demosthenes, to the number of six thousand men, surrendered on condition that none should be put to death, and were conducted to Syracuse. Those under Nicias escaped for some time longer, only to undergo greater privation and sufferings; and at length he surrendered unconditionally to Gylippus, trusting, as he had always been the friend of Lacedæmon, to find mercy at his hands. The Spartan would have gladly taken the two Athenian generals prisoners back to his country in triumph; but the vengeance of the Syracusans would be satisfied with nothing short of their lives: the noble Hermocrates pleaded for mercy in vain; Nicias and Demosthenes were put to death. The deeds which Athens had sanctioned at Corcyra, and had perpetrated at Mitylene and Melos, now recoiled on her own head. The prisoners, seven thousand in number, were confined in the stone quarries for seventy days, and exposed to the heat of day and chill of the autumnal nights. Many died from privation and confinement; and at the expiration of the seventy days, all but the Athenians, Sicelots, and Italiots, were sold for slaves. The towns were filled with Grecian slaves, of whom, we are told, those who could repeat the poetry of Euripides earned kinder treatment by this means from the hands of their masters. These were the residue of that gallant armament which had so short a time before left the Piræus in proud hope of conquest. So true were the prophecies of Nicias; so calamitous was the ill-judged Sicilian expedition!

## CHAPTER XIX.

End of the nineteenth year—The twentieth and twenty-first years of the Peloponnesian war.

THE Athenians would not at first credit what they were so unwilling should be true; but when assured of the failure in Sicily, they turned their invectives upon those who had advised the expedition. Still, with an elasticity of spirit rarely found, they made preparations for the attacks which they expected from the Syracusans in addition to their older enemies. An especial council of elders was appointed to deliberate on affairs, at whose suggestion timber was collected for ships, a fort raised at Sunium, and garrisons recalled. In the mean time, Lacedæmon now saw the supremacy of Greece within her reach, and issued orders for ships to the allies, to join in crushing Athens in the coming spring.

In the twentieth year of the war, B.C. 412, the Eubceans and Lesbians sent to treat with Agis; the Chians and Erythræans sent to Sparta to consult about their intended revolt, and with them came a message from Tissaphernes, satrap of Lydia, proposing an alliance between the king and Lacedæmon. Ambassadors came also from Pharnabazus, the satrap of the country about the Hellespont, begging for a fleet to assist the revolt of his province from the dominion of Athens. Through Alcibiades it was resolved to assist the Chians, first with forty ships; but some delay occurred, and by the time the ships were ready to cross from the port of Cenchrea to Chios, the Athenians were aware of their intentions, and attacked them, and having killed their commander, and injured some of their ships, drove the rest into port.

Alcibiades himself now proceeded to Asia Minor, and procured the revolt of Chios, Erythræa, and Cla-

zomenæ. At Athens the alarm was great; and Strombichides was sent off to Asia Minor with eight ships, but was obliged to seek refuge at Samos from a superior fleet under Chalcideus. The Teians and Milesians now revolted from Athens, and a treaty of alliance was formed by Tissaphernes in the name of the king with the Lacedæmonians. At Samos, however, the people rose and killed two hundred, and expelled four hundred of the nobles. Lesbos remained faithful to Athens. A victory, too, was gained over Chalcideus (who was killed in the action) by an Athenian fleet off Lade; though similar success had not attended the fleet off the Corinthian Piræus, for it had been beaten by the fleet which it was there to watch. The Athenians now attempted to reduce Chios; and Leon and Diomedon forced the inhabitants to retire to the walls, though Astyochus came with four ships to their assistance. At the end of the summer, Phrynichus came from Athens with forty-eight ships and three thousand five hundred Athenian and other hoplites, and conquered some Milesians, Peloponnesians, and mercenaries of Tissaphernes. But now twenty-two Sicilian ships under Hermocrates arrived with thirty-three Peloponnesian under Theramenes, which, at the request of Alcibiades, came to assist Miletus, which the Athenians were attacking. Phrynichus wisely declined to engage them.

The Athenian fleet was now considerably augmented; thirty triremes were sent with troops to Chios, and seventy-four lay off Samos. It is useless to attempt a detailed account of the succeeding transactions; and passing over the varied operations of both sides, which were of little real importance, we come to the period when Alcibiades became an object of suspicion to the Lacedæmonians. Astyochus had had orders to put him to death; but Alcibiades had escaped, and was living with Tissaphernes, with whom he possessed great influence, which he now turned against his late friends. Through him the satrap



declared his intention of reducing the pay issued to the seamen from one to half a drachma a day, until he knew the king's pleasure; but the remonstrances of Hermocrates procured a little addition.

Alcibiades persuaded him also not materially to assist either party, but by continuing the war, and not bringing up the Phœnician fleet as he had promised, to leave the adverse parties so evenly balanced as gradually to wear out one another. His object was now to be restored to his country. He sent to the leading men of the army at Samos, and offered to secure the friendship of Tissaphernes, if an oligarchy were established at home, so as to allow his return. But Phrynichus understood his real aim: he declared that Alcibiades cared for neither democracy nor oligarchy; that it was absurd to suppose the king would prefer the friendship of the Athenians; and on the whole he strenuously opposed Alcibiades. Pisander and some others were sent to Athens to attempt the proposed alteration of the constitution. Alcibiades, who had been informed of the opposition made by Phrynichus, now endeavoured, though without succeeding, to procure his death.

Pisander, when he first declared his object, was of course violently opposed by the democratical party; but when he laid before them the supposed advantages of the friendship of the king, and pointed out the difficulty of now saving the country without assistance, and assured them that if they did not like the new constitution they could return to the old one, he and ten others were appointed to treat with Tissaphernes, and Diomedon and Leon sent out to take the places of Phrynichus and Scironides in the command.

Alcibiades had not so much power as he had represented, and contrived, in the interview between Pisander and Tissaphernes, to throw the blame of refusing the alliance on the former, by inducing the satrap to make such demands as he knew the Athenians would refuse. For Tissaphernes in reality dreaded the Lace-

dæmonians, and was now glad to take the opportunity of forming a new treaty with them, promising to continue to pay the fleet and bring up his Phœnician ships. His aim was either to allow the parties to wear one another out, or by throwing his influence into the scale of the Lacedæmonians, to enable them to overthrow the Athenians. His fear was, if he refused to join either side, that the Athenians might be victorious by sea, and finally get the upper hand.

In the spring of the year B.C. 411, and the twenty-first of the war, the appearance of Dercyllidas the Spartan with a small force in the Hellespont, produced the revolt of Abydos and Lampsacus from Athens: but Strombichides arrived soon after with twenty-four ships, and reduced the latter town to submission. The cause of the revolutionists had meanwhile prospered in Samos. On Pisander's arrival in Athens, an assembly was held, and ten persons appointed, who were to draw up a constitution, and propose it to the assembly on a fixed day. All they announced was a proposal that any Athenian might bring forward such measures as he pleased, and this being carried, Pisander introduced the following alterations in the constitution. Five presidents were to be appointed, who should elect a hundred persons, each of whom should choose three. These four hundred were to form a council with unrestricted power, and might convene the assembly, which was to contain only five thousand persons, whenever they pleased. Pisander introduced, but Antiphon, a man of great ability, but an object of suspicion to the Demus, was the author of these changes. Theramenes, son of Hagnon, and Phrynichus, through fear of Alcibiades, had now joined the oligarchs. The council of five hundred was next to be dismissed. The four hundred, accompanied by one hundred and twenty young men whose arms were in their service, entered the senate house, and desired the senators to depart. These quietly obeyed, and the four hundred established

themselves in their places. They soon sent to Agis to propose friendship with Lacedæmon, who mistrusted the power of the new government, and thinking he might take Athens by a sudden attack when affairs within were in such a posture, came up to the very walls of Athens; but no tumult favoured his attempt, and he agreed that ambassadors should be sent to Sparta.

Persons were now sent to Samos to lull any suspicions regarding the oligarchy, and to assure the people of the power still left in the hands of the five thousand; but an outbreak occurred here, through the accounts given of the proceedings of the four hundred; and though Thrasybulus restrained the bloodshed which seemed likely to take place, they made the army swear to support the democracy, continue the war with the Peloponnesians, and oppose the four hundred. The army then voted the recall of Alcibiades, whom Thrasybulus himself went and conducted to Samos. His promises of the assistance of Tissaphernes, procured him the confidence of his auditors, and he was at once elected general. The multitude proposed an immediate attack upon the four hundred, but Alcibiades restrained them, and returned to Tissaphernes. Mindarus had now come out from Lacedæmon to take the place of Astyochus.

Deputies from the Argives, who dreaded the overthrow of the democracy at Athens, and some Athenians, who themselves opposed the four hundred, arrived at Samos about the same time that some ambassadors from Athens were defending the cause of the four hundred. The soldiers listened unwillingly; and Alcibiades had to restrain them again from sailing at once to the Piræus. He said that he himself had no objection to the assembly of five thousand, but insisted upon the dissolution of the four hundred, and restoration of the five hundred. The deputies returned to Athens, and Alcibiades sailed to Aspendus, having promised that his influence should be em-

ployed to prevent Tissaphernes bringing up the Phœnician fleet; which promise he knew he could safely make, as the satrap had no intention of doing so.

A division had now taken place among the oligarchical party at Athens; some of them, among whom were Theramenes and Aristocrates, began to wish a return to the democracy, while Antiphon, Phrynichus, and Pisander, adhered to their original views. The ultra-party sent to Sparta to try to form an alliance, and continued the works they had begun at Eetioneia, at the mouth of and commanding the Piræus. Theramenes and his party declared that these works were not to oppose the army which was now at Samos, but for the reception of the enemy. Phrynichus received a mortal wound as he was leaving the senate-house, but the murderer escaped. This circumstance, perhaps, brought matters to a crisis, and an outbreak occurred, in which Theramenes at least sanctioned the destruction of the fort at Eetioneia. On the next day, deputies from the four hundred arrived, who, by assuring the people that the names of the five thousand should be declared, pacified the people for a time. On a day that had been appointed for the arrangement of every thing, the news suddenly arrived that the enemy were sailing along Salamis: every one hurried to the Piræus, and triremes were hastily launched; but the Peloponnesian fleet doubled Sunium, and passed on to Eubœa. The Athenians manned all the triremes they could: the fleet amounted to thirty-six, and was stationed at Eretria. But when dispersed in search of provisions, they were attacked by the hostile fleet, and though they got on board as fast as they could, they were routed, and lost twenty-two ships. Soon after the whole of Eubœa, except Oreus, revolted.

The consternation and dismay at Athens now exceeded even what was felt on the news of the defeat in Sicily; and if the Lacedæmonians had proceeded

at once to the Piræus, Athens could have made no resistance. But twenty triremes were prepared: an assembly was held in the Pnyx. The four hundred were deposed, and the power transferred to the five thousand. Alcibiades and other exiles were recalled. Pisander, Alexicles, and others of the oligarchs fled. Aristarchus used his influence as a general in inducing the garrison at CEnoe to surrender it to the Bœotians. Antiphon and Archeptolemus were both put to death, their late companion in power, Theramenes, being now their accuser.

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## CHAPTER XX.

The twenty-first year continued—The twenty-second, twenty-third, twenty-fourth, twenty-fifth, and twenty-sixth years of the Peloponnesian war.

THE alliance with Tissaphernes had prolonged the operations, while it had been of little real service to the Lacedæmonians. They now turned to Pharnabazus; and Mindarus sailed with seventy-three ships for the Hellespont; and after a delay at Chios, finding himself pursued by Thrasyllus and Thrasybulus with sixty-seven triremes, he arrived at night at the point of Sigeum. He took four of eighteen Athenian ships which had endeavoured to escape into the open sea; and being joined by some from Abydos, was now in command of eighty-six triremes. The Athenians with seventy-eight ships pursued Mindarus to the Hellespont, and advanced in a single line towards Sestos, the enemy being on the opposite coast off Abydos. An attempt made by the enemy to drive their centre ashore succeeded, as the right wing was held in check by Mindarus, and the left was not in sight, having got beyond the point called Synosséma; but the right wing was completely victorious, and

put both the Peloponnesians and Syracusans to flight. The Athenians lost fifteen ships, but captured twenty-one of the enemy's; and the victory gave them both confidence for the future, and some consolation for the revolt of Eubœa.

Soon after, an engagement took place off Abydos, in which neither side could boast of much success: and Thrasyllus and Thrasybulus, leaving forty ships at Sestos, went home to ask for ships and men. When Tissaphernes had arrived at the Hellespont, Alcibiades visited him, but was seized by the satrap, and sent as a prisoner to Sardis; he escaped, however, in about a month, and joined the Athenian fleet, which now reassembled at Sestos. Having heard that Pharnabazus, with his troops, and Mindarus were at Cyzicus, they made for that place. The Peloponnesians on perceiving them made for the shore, but Alcibiades having effected a landing, and Mindarus having done the same, a battle took place, in which the Peloponnesians were conquered, and lost their commander: Cyzicus surrendered the following day. Alcibiades having levied contributions, proceeded to Chrysopolis on the Bosphorus, which he fortified.

It was now the twenty-second year of the war, B.C. 410. Pharnabazus was as generous as Tissaphernes had been the contrary to his Greek allies; but their defeats induced Sparta once more to make overtures of peace to Athens, which the people were, through the persuasion of a demagogue, named Cleophon, induced to reject. Agis led his troops to the walls of Athens, but retired when he saw the Athenians come out prepared to fight. He then sent Clearchus with fifteen ships, of which he lost three, to Byzantium, hoping to stop the supplies of corn which came to Athens from the Euxine.

In the following year, B.C. 409, and the twenty-second of the war, Thrasyllus, with five thousand peltasts, made some descents on the coast of Asia Minor; but having been defeated at Ephesus, he

sailed from the Hellespont. Here those who had conquered at Cyzicus refused to co-operate with those who had been overcome at Ephesus ; and the efforts of Alcibiades to unite them were made in vain, till the latter redeemed their character by their behaviour against Pharnabazus, who came to relieve Abydos.

In the spring of the twenty-fourth year, B.C. 408, the fleet proceeded to reduce Chalcedon and Byzantium. In an engagement which took place near the former, Hippocrates, the Lacedæmonian, supported by Pharnabazus, with his cavalry, engaged Thrasyllus. Alcibiades came to the assistance of the Athenians, and having forced the satrap to retire, conquered the Peloponnesians, and killed their commander. He then went to the Chersonese to collect money ; and in his absence, his colleagues made an arrangement with Pharnabazus, who promised to give twenty talents to the Athenians, and to convey their ambassadors to Susa, while the Athenians were to remit hostilities against the Chalcedonians till their return. Alcibiades, on his arrival, agreed to the treaty, and then proceeded to the siege of Byzantium.

Clearchus crossed over to Pharnabazus to gain money and ships from him, to endeavour to make a diversion, which should draw off the Athenians from Byzantium : but the town was betrayed to Alcibiades ; his troops were admitted, and the garrison forced to lay down their arms. Alcibiades began to think that he might now return to Athens, and proceeded to Samos, leaving Thrasybulus with thirty ships, who reduced Thasos and the other towns that had revolted. Thrasyllus took the rest of the fleet to Athens, where Alcibiades, Thrasybulus, and Conon, had been elected generals for the following year, B.C. 407, the twenty-fifth of the war.

After lingering at Samos for some time, his uncertainty as to the feelings with which he was regarded at home, was ended by the news of his appointment

as general; and he now sailed direct to the Piræus. The feelings of those who now received him in crowds, were perhaps as much divided as of those who witnessed his departure some eight years before. There were those who said he had been unjustly accused, that he had been exiled through a conspiracy of his enemies, who felt they could not rise to importance while he remained at Athens. There were others who still maintained that he was the cause of most of the evils which had fallen on the city, and would have sooner seen him employed against Athens abroad, than sheltered and encouraged to work more mischief, as they feared he would, at home. He landed among the crowd, and went up to the city. He defended himself against the accusation of impiety, and no one replied to him. He was then appointed general, with unrestrained power, and in three months' time sailed again to Samos, with one hundred ships, fifteen hundred heavy-armed troops, and one hundred and fifty horse. But events now occurred which tended to lower the credit of Alcibiades. Darius, who was now king of Persia, had sent his younger son, Cyrus, to command the whole coast—Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus both being subject to him. The Lacedæmonians had sent out Lysander in the place of Cratesippidas, who had succeeded Mindarus. An embassy from Lacedæmon had gained the favour of the prince, and the manners of Lysander, who was a politician and a courtier, procured his unqualified assistance in the war, with a promise to increase the pay of the Peloponnesian sailors. Lysander was now at Ephesus, with a fleet of ninety ships; and Alcibiades, who wished to join Thrasybulus at Phocæa, gave Antiochus strict orders not to attack the enemy. But his orders were disobeyed; and Antiochus rashly venturing into the harbour of Ephesus, was attacked by some ships of Lysander, and others coming to the assistance on both sides, a general engagement took place, in which the Athenians were defeated, and lost fifteen ships. Alci-



biades, on his return, attempted to draw Lysander into a battle, but could not succeed in doing so. The news of the defeat arrived at Athens, and all the blame was unjustly laid on Alcibiades, who was deposed from his command, and retired to his estates in the Chersonese. Conon, one of the ten generals, came out to Samos.

In the twenty-sixth year of the war, B.C. 406, Callicratidas was appointed to replace Lysander, whose term of command had expired. He collected a fleet of one hundred and forty triremes, determined vigorously to prosecute the war. On going to Cyrus for money, he was told to wait two days. Indignant at what he looked upon as an insult, he departed, declaring he would endeavour to reconcile the Athenians and his countrymen, and thus liberate both parties from the disgrace of looking to barbarians for supplies. He then sailed to Lesbos, and laid siege to Methymne, which he took, but refused to sell the captives when urged to do so, saying, that while he was in command, no Greek should be made a slave. Conon had seventy vessels, and was chased by Callicratidas with one hundred and seventy into the harbour of Samos, and being obliged to fight, lost thirty ships. He then fled to Mitylene, which was besieged by the enemy by sea and land. The Athenians, after some time suffering from famine, took the opportunity afforded by the heat of the day, while the enemy were off their guard, to send two ships for assistance, one of which succeeded in escaping, and carried intelligence to Athens. In a month's time, one hundred and ten ships were ready, and joined by ten Samians, and thirty of the other allies; the Athenian fleet, which now numbered one hundred and fifty ships, took its station at Arginusæ, some islands between Lesbos and the main land. Callicratidas, when he heard of their arrival, came to Samos with one hundred and twenty ships, and though he was prevented from attacking the enemy at night, as he wished, the next

day he sailed for Arginusæ. When the Athenians appeared, the pilot of Callicratidas advised him to retreat, but the Spartan general told him, his death would be a slight loss, but to fly would be disgraceful. The battle was obstinate and prolonged, but Callicratidas fell overboard in an encounter and was drowned. The Peloponnesians were defeated, and seventy of their ships taken. The Athenians had lost twenty-five ships. It was agreed to leave Theramenes and Thrasybulus with forty ships to try and save the crews of the ships that had been sunk, and to proceed to the assistance of Conon. A storm prevented the men on the wrecks from being saved, and six generals out of the eight who had been present at the battle returned to Athens. It is said that overtures of peace were once more made by the Lacedæmonians, but through Cleophon were again rejected. When the six generals returned, one of them, Erasinidas, was accused of embezzling money in the Hellespont, and thrown into prison. The others were attacked by Theramenes and others for not having saved the crews. They all defended themselves, saying, that at any rate the blame, if any existed, rested with Theramenes and Thrasybulus, to whom the task was entrusted; but that, in truth, the storm had been the cause of its not being accomplished. This, they said, the pilots would prove. The people were moved in their favour, but the meeting was adjourned, and it was agreed that it should be referred to the senate. Theramenes and his party persuaded the orator, Callixenus, to accuse them, and even procured persons dressed in black to personate the relations of those who had perished at Arginusæ. It was resolved to put it at once to the vote, and if it were carried, that the generals should be put to death. Some of their friends opposed this as illegal, and the Prytanes refused to put it to the vote. Callixenus then accused them; and so great was the opposition made by the people, that all the Prytanes yielded but one, and the eight generals were ultimately

condemned: that one was Socrates. The six generals who were at Athens were immediately executed. A harsher and more capricious decision can hardly be imagined; nor does the repentance which soon succeeded, and the ignominy heaped on Callixenus, compensate for the lives of the murdered generals.

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## CHAPTER XXI.

The twenty-seventh year, and the end of the Peloponnesian War—The thirty tyrants—Theramenes—his death—End of the tyranny—Condemnation and death of Socrates.

IF any thing were wanting to complete the ruin of Athens, when she, for the last time, rejected the proposals of peace, it was the foul deed we have just narrated. So terrible a violation of law, human and divine, proved too truly that the revolutions which had taken place had left but a wreck of the old constitution, which one more shock would overthrow for ever. The people of Athens, changeable even in their iniquity, had repented of the deed, and had turned round upon the few who instigated it, to whom they had listened so often before, to their own ruin. But the victory of Arginusæ was in vain, and the fall of Athens was at hand. In the twenty-seventh and last year of the Peloponnesian war, B.C. 405, Chios and other allies of Lacedæmon sent to beg that Lysander might be sent out. Cyrus joined in the request, and the Lacedæmonians, though they could not violate the law, which forbade the same person to hold the chief naval command twice, appointed him vice-admiral. He sailed to Ephesus, and having collected all the ships he could, proceeded to the Hellespont. Conon and the newly-appointed generals followed him, with one hundred and eighty ships, to Eleüs in the Chersonese. Hearing that Lysander had taken Lampsacus, they sailed to Sestos, and thence to Ægospotami, and on

the following day offered Lysander battle, which he refused. For four days the hostile fleets lay in sight of one another. Alcibiades, who perceived from his castle that his countrymen were obliged to go fifteen stadia for provisions, while the enemy procured them from a town close by, advised the generals to move to Sestos. This one disinterested act of Alcibiades for Athens failed of its object; and perhaps he felt this ungracious reception of a really generous advance might be deserved for the many instances of deception and vacillation he had been guilty of towards his country. But the wisdom of his advice was soon proved. On the fifth day, when the Athenians were as usual dispersed, and had now become more confident from not being attacked, Lysander pushed across and attacked the Athenian fleet before the sailors could be collected. Conon, with nine ships, escaped, part of which sailed to Cyprus. The Paralian trireme carried the intelligence to Athens. The whole fleet and part of the crews fell into the hands of Lysander, who, having despatched a vessel with the tidings of victory to Lacedæmon, held a council to deliberate on the course to be pursued with regard to the prisoners. It was said, that the Athenians had resolved, if victorious, to cut off the right hands of all the captives. It was voted to put all the Athenians to death, and Lysander began by killing Philocles, one of the generals, who was said to have thrown the entire crews of two triremes down a precipice. Three thousand Athenians were put to death; one alone was spared, Adeimantus, who was said to have opposed the inhuman resolution respecting the prisoners. Lysander then took Byzantium and Chalcedon, dismissing the Athenians whom he found there and elsewhere, and ordering them at once to proceed to Athens, aware that the city itself was too strong to be taken, except by famine, and that the more persons he sent within it, the sooner would it be forced to surrender.

The Paralian arrived at night with the news of the

defeat, and the lamentations spread through the whole city ; for besides the present immediate loss, the Athenians could not but remember their own conduct when in power, and expect the same sufferings which they themselves had inflicted on others. Hence they were determined to stand a siege, and endure to the utmost. They blocked up every port but one, and prepared for the coming of the Lacedæmonians. Troops from Peloponnesus, under Pausanias, entered Attica, and Lysander, who on his way had restored many who had been exiled by the Athenians to their homes, arrived with one hundred and fifty ships at the Piræus.

For a long time they endured the evils of a siege, and by the influence of Cleophon, the advice of those who proposed to accede to the terms of the enemy was disregarded. But the oligarchical party attacked Cleophon, and on some feigned or trivial charge at length procured his trial and execution.

Theramenes, who had been absent four months, returned to Athens, bringing word, as he said, that Lysander ordered him to proceed to Sparta to treat with the ephors. He and nine others were sent thither with full power, and a congress of allies was held to debate concerning Athens. Some, among whom were the Corinthians and Thebans, urged the total destruction of the city ; but the Lacedæmonians refused to consent, and a more generous policy was adopted. Theramenes returned, and the terms of the enemy were now with little opposition accepted. The walls, which had of old been the objects of suspicion and mistrust, were to be pulled down ; all the ships but twelve were to be surrendered, and the Athenians were to follow wherever the Lacedæmonians might lead. These terms were, however unwillingly, acceded to, and the walls which Themistocles had raised, were demolished by an enemy to the sound of festive music. The day was thought, says Xenophon, to be the beginning of freedom to Greece.

So ended, after seventy-three years, the power of

Athens, B.C. 404. It had been, doubtless, tyrannically exercised; but those who rejoiced so much at her downfall, soon found they had but changed their masters, and were now subject to one equally oppressive. The immediate cause of all these disasters did not long survive the ruin of his country. Alcibiades had left the Chersonese and fled to Asia, but through the suggestion of Agis and Lysander, Pharnabazus sent to destroy him. The Persians who were employed for that purpose dreaded to attack him, and set fire to the house in which he was. Alcibiades rushed out, and perished by the darts of the assassins. His folly and vacillation had doubtless accelerated the fall of Athens; but there were other causes at work, if that had been wanting. The power acquired by demagogues in favour at any particular time, which led to hasty measures, unjust decisions, and imprudent expeditions, was the main cause of the disasters which ended in the ruin of the Athenian empire; for times of tranquillity, in which their iniquities would have been better marked and condemned, were unfavourable to their interests; and hence all pacific proposals from the enemy were rejected, when they might, if accepted, have established Athens more firmly on her throne. Again, if her efforts had been confined to attacks on the Peloponnese, as the wisdom of Demosthenes suggested, and her restless ambition, which led to the expedition against Sicily, had been checked instead of encouraged, she might have dictated the humiliating terms which she was obliged to accept. As it was, talents such as Alcibiades possessed, if they had been united to greater integrity and firmness of character, might have deferred the evil day, but never could have entirely averted it. Although the names of Phormio, Demosthenes, and Thrasybulus, must ever demand our admiration, the commencement of the ruin of Athens must be dated from the days of Cleon, the first and basest of the demagogues.

Lysander did not leave Attica till the government

had been vested in thirty persons. Theramenes was the chief promoter of this measure among the Athenians; and as it was agreeable to, if not ordered by, Lysander himself, the murmurs with which it was received were entirely disregarded. One of the most influential of the thirty was Critias, a pupil of Socrates, who, with great abilities, and ample hatred of a democracy, determined to secure to the thirty, and himself as chief among them, despotic power in Athens. A senate of four hundred, and various magistrates, were appointed by them; and beginning with expelling certain disreputable citizens, from this they proceeded to arrest those from whom they contemplated most opposition. They procured a garrison of troops from Lysander, which they themselves paid; and as they were gradually confirmed in their power, those whom they seized, they also executed: it is said that as many as fifteen hundred persons were put to death by them. Critias was the chief author of these tyrannical acts, and was soon opposed by Theramenes, who was averse to useless bloodshed, and aware, as he told his colleagues, that such violence would soon defeat their own objects, and overthrow the oligarchy. He had so frequently changed sides in revolutions, that he now gained the name of a "shoe," which might be worn on either foot indifferently. Through his advice, a body of three thousand were now chosen to fill the place of the former five thousand, to whom power in the assembly was given, and exclusive eligibility to the magistracies. The rest of the citizens were deprived of arms, which were laid up in the Acropolis, in the keeping of the Lacedæmonian garrison. Secure, as they now thought, from all opposition, they exercised the power they had acquired with the most wanton tyranny: some for private enmity, others for their wealth, became their victims, while it was even resolved that each of the thirty should select a metoec to be put to death, that they might obtain his property. When Theramenes was ordered to choose his victim, he refused; and Critias

rose and accused him as a traitor to the present constitution. Theramenes defended himself with all the eloquence of which he was master, and had nearly gained the votes of the senate, when Critias introduced the armed men whom he had before ordered to the senate-house, and told them plainly, that not one who openly opposed the oligarchy should escape; and that as it had been established by law, that none of the three thousand could be put to death but by the thirty, although any one else might, "I strike out this man," said he, "from the catalogue, and we, the thirty, condemn him to death." Theramenes sprung to the altar, but was dragged from it through the market to prison, and then compelled to drink hemlock-juice. As he finished his draught, he dashed what remained on the floor<sup>s</sup>, exclaiming, "Be this to the noble Critias."

The thirty tyrants now followed their inclinations unchecked. Lands and houses were seized for themselves: all who were not in the catalogue were forbidden to enter Athens: and Argos, Megara, and Thebes, now favourable to the democrats, were filled with Athenian exiles. Among these was Thrasybulus, who was bent on deposing the thirty. With seventy companions he established himself in Phyle, a fortress on the borders of Attica; and having gradually collected about seven hundred men, he first repulsed those sent against him by the thirty, and afterwards, when they had encamped in the neighbourhood, attacked and killed one hundred and twenty of them. To establish a refuge in case of being driven from Athens, they treacherously seized three hundred of the Eleusinians, who were supposed to be disaffected, and a sentence of death was extorted from those of the catalogue, which was as speedily put into execution.

<sup>s</sup> It was a custom for persons to throw what remained in the cup into a brazen vessel, or on the ground, naming at the same time the object of their affection, and to judge of their fortune in love from the sound it made in falling.



But now encouraged by his success, Thrasybulus boldly entered the Piræus with one thousand heavy-armed troops. He was attacked on the following day by the thirty, but he defeated them, although their numbers were superior, and Critias himself was amongst the slain. His party then professed obedience to the three thousand, but accused the thirty of causing all the evils which they had suffered, who had destroyed in eight months as many Athenians as the Peloponnesians had in ten years. Though the thirty did all they could in opposition, they were deposed, and retired to Eleusis. Ten persons were appointed to negotiate peace with the party in the Piræus; but as these aimed at establishing power for themselves, various engagements took place between them and the party of Thrasybulus in the Piræus.

Lysander, and afterwards Pausanias, who was jealous of Lysander's influence in Attica, eventually restored order; for all who opposed him having been subdued, fifteen commissioners came from Sparta to reconcile the parties. All Athenians, with the exception of the thirty, were restored to their rights, under an oath of peace, and Eleusis was appointed as a residence for those who feared to remain at Athens. The Athenians in the city, some time after, hearing that those at Eleusis were hiring mercenaries, attacked and defeated them, and treacherously put their leaders to death after having invited them to a conference.

A general reconciliation then took place, B. C. 403, and it was resolved to return as nearly as possible to the constitution of Solon. The refugees returned, and peace and order were once more established. Three years after this, B. C. 399, Athens was guilty of a darker crime even than the murder of her generals. Socrates, the greatest philosopher she ever produced, met his most unmerited death at her hands.

Throughout his life he had employed all the powers of his mind against the atheists, sceptics, and sophists,

in enforcing a purer code of morality, and a loftier and holier system of religion : poor and self-denying, he gave his advice and instruction gratuitously to all. He was accused of infidelity towards the gods of Athens, of introducing the worship of strange deities, and of corrupting the youth. He repelled these charges, but was condemned. He then again addressed his judges, concluding with the words, "It is time to depart; I to die, you to live: but which to the happier destiny, God alone knows." He was condemned on the eve of the day on which the sacred ship departed with offerings to Delos, and no execution could take place till its return. He might by various means have escaped, but having through life inculcated obedience to the laws, he would not break them even to escape from an undeserved death. He spent his last morning conversing with his friends on the immortality of the soul, then drank the poison and died. He left no writings himself, but his pupil, Plato, the sublimest of all ancient philosophers, has recorded his master's together with his own opinions.

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## CHAPTER XXII.

Death of Darius—Battle of Cunaxa—Retreat of the ten thousand—Dercyllidas in Asia—Conspiracy of Cinadon—Agessilaus in Asia—Corinthian, or first Bœotian war—Success of Conon and Pharnabazus—Iphicrates—Rebuilding of the long walls of Athens—Agessilaus in Acarnania—Antalcidas—Progress of the war—Deaths of Thrasybulus and Conon—Peace of Antalcidas.

TOWARDS the termination of the Peloponnesian war, Darius, king of Persia, died, and left the kingdom to his son Artaxerxes. Cyrus, his younger son, after a time led an army, of which ten thousand were hired Greeks, against the new monarch, but was conquered at the battle of Cunaxa, B.C. 401, and he himself killed. His Greek allies had defeated those opposed

to him; but they now had to contend against the more subtle acts of treachery of the king and Tissaphernes. Their leaders were invited to a conference and slain; but the troops chose new officers, among whom was Xenophon, the Athenian. It is to him we are indebted for the narration of the celebrated retreat of the ten thousand, who accomplished their perilous journey through Carduchia and Armenia to the shores of the Euxine.

Tissaphernes, who had now been entrusted with the countries before committed to Cyrus, became feared and hated by the Ionian cities, who refused obedience, and sent to Sparta for assistance. Thimbron, who was sent out, accomplished little; but Dercyllidas, who was appointed in his room, B.C. 399, first concluded a truce with Tissaphernes and reduced Æolis, and then, on being continued in the command, fortified the Chersonese by a wall, to protect the people from the attacks of the Thracians; and then obtained peace from Pharnabazus and Tissaphernes, one condition being the independence of the Grecian cities. On the death of Agis, the succession was disputed, as the legitimacy of his son Leotychides was questioned; and it was finally settled in favour of his uncle Agesilaus, who was declared king by a majority of votes. A year after his accession a conspiracy against the Spartans was headed by a young man named Cinadon; but his designs were detected, and he himself at length taken, and with his accomplices put publicly to death. News now arrived that the Persians were preparing a large fleet in Phoenicia, which was destined, as it was thought, to act against Greece. Lysander urged an invasion of Asia, and his advice being accepted, Agesilaus prepared for the expedition. Wishing to imitate Agamemnon, he sacrificed at Aulis in Boeotia, but was interrupted while doing so by the Boeotarchs. He then proceeded to Ephesus, where he made a truce, till the king's pleasure should be known, with Tissaphernes, who, with the treachery

habitual to him, employed it to send for troops to the king. Having succeeded in thus adding to his troops, he declared war against Agesilaus, if he did not leave Asia. The latter plundered Phrygia, but was convinced of his great want of cavalry by an attack and defeat which he suffered by some Persian horse near Dascyion. Having added to his cavalry, and increased the skill of his men by repeated exercise, in the year B.C. 395, he marched from Sardis, and engaged the Persian horse on the banks of the Pactolus: he totally defeated them, and took their camp. Tisaphernes, who was suspected of treachery, now suffered, when he was really innocent, for his previous guilt; for Tithraustes was sent down by the Persian government to behead the satrap, and take his place.

The new satrap, finding that Agesilaus would not quit Asia, now sent a Rhodian named Timocrates with fifty talents, to distribute among the leading men in the Greek cities, and engaged them to excite war against the Lacedæmonians. The money was divided among Thebes, Argos, and Corinth: Athens needed no incentive to renew the war. The Thebans induced the Opuntian Locrians to invade Phocis, the Phocians in turn attacked Locris, and the Thebans being applied to, entered Phocis in retaliation. The Phocians now applied to the Lacedæmonians, who, glad of a pretext for attacking Thebes, sent Lysander to Phocis, ordering him to assemble an army at Haliartus, and telling him that he would be joined by Pausanias with some Peloponnesians on a certain day. The Thebans now applied to Athens, and through Thrasybulus it was resolved to assist them. Lysander did not wait for Pausanias, and on attacking Haliartus, which had refused to revolt, was interrupted by the Thebans, who came to relieve the town, was conquered, and he himself left among the slain. The joy of the Thebans rather abated in the morning, on the appearance of Pausanias with a fresh army; but on the arrival of the Athenians, they prepared to

give battle. The Spartan king held a council of his officers, and preferred obtaining the bodies of Lysander and the rest by a truce. The Thebans refused this unless the enemy quitted Bœotia. These terms were however accepted, and Pausanias on his return to Sparta was tried for his life. To escape from the execution of the sentence, he fled to Tegea, where he died. The Lacedæmonians now finding that the confederacy against them at home was gaining strength, recalled Agesilaus from Asia. That able general had been most successful in his operations, and received the tidings of his recall at the very time when he was making preparations to push on to the heart of the Persian empire. He at once obeyed, and crossing the Hellespont returned to Greece, where his country now was greatly in need of him.

The states combined against Lacedæmon now numbered Bœotia, Athens, Argos, Corinth, Acarnania, and great part of Eubœa, Thessaly, and Chalcidice. The deputies from them met at Corinth, and it was resolved to make Laconia the chief scene of the war. Elis, Sicyon, Epidaurus, Trœzen, and Hermione, lent aid to the Lacedæmonians. Troops also came (though the numbers are unknown) from Tegea and Mantinea. In a battle which took place near Corinth, the success was on the side of the Lacedæmonians. Their allies were conquered, but the Lacedæmonians themselves defeated the Athenians, raised a trophy, and retired to Sicyon.

Agesilaus was now marching through northern Greece with his army, which he had brought from Asia. He met the allies at Coronea, and though his Asiatic troops were reckoned inferior to the European, his training of them procured him success, and his victory was complete. He raised a trophy, and then proceeded to Delphi to offer a tithe of his booty to the god: having done this, he disbanded his army and returned home.

We mentioned that Conon fled to Salamis in Cy-

prus after the battle of *Ægospotami*. He was generously received by *Evagoras*, governor of that place, and becoming his chief adviser, obtained at last through him the friendship of *Pharnabazus*. The satrap hearkened to *Conon's* suggestion of joining a Phœnician fleet to the ships of *Evagoras*, and attempting to destroy the Lacedæmonian power by sea. *Pharnabazus* commanded the expedition in person, and complete success attended it. They fell in with *Pisander* and a hostile fleet off *Cnidus*; but on their approach, many of the allies of the Peloponnesians fled. Fifty ships were taken, and *Pisander* himself slain. *Pharnabazus* and *Conon* then proceeded, after cruising in the *Ægean*, to the *Hellespont*.

*Agesilaus* had succeeded in taking the fortress of *Piræum*, at the foot of the *Geranea*, which maintained a large garrison. On his first arrival he found it so strongly defended that he refrained from attacking it; but by feigning an intended march on *Corinth*, he drew off most of the garrison, and the fortress on the following day surrendered.

At the moment when he was enjoying his victory and the review of his booty, a horseman came up with the melancholy news, that the Athenian commander *Iphicrates* had intercepted and cut off almost a whole *mora*<sup>1</sup>. *Agesilaus* had left at *Lechæon* some *Amyclæans*, whose invariable custom it was to return home to celebrate the *Hyacinthia*. This festival was now at hand. The polemarch had orders to escort them with a *mora* of horse and another of foot to within twenty or thirty stadia of *Sicyon*. On his return he was attacked by *Iphicrates* and his peltasts. The horse and a few only of the foot escaped to *Lechæon*. The exploit gained *Iphicrates* great renown, for it was he who had raised and disciplined those peltasts. Hitherto the light troops had been generally composed of untrained slaves; but the use of them, which had not been

<sup>1</sup> A division of the Spartan army.

up till this time reckoned great, was perceived by Iphicrates, and his efforts in developing this new feature in Grecian warfare were rewarded by a famous though not important victory.

In B.C. 391, Agesilaus led an army to Acarnania, to assist the Achæans in Calydon, who were being pressed by the Acarnanians. He retired, after having accomplished nothing of importance, through Ætolia, but returning in the following spring, obliged the Acarnanians to quit the alliance of Bœotia and Athens, and to join that of the Lacedæmonians.

In the year B.C. 390, Conon and Pharnabazus sailed together from Laconia, and landing at Phæræ ravaged the country. They took the chief town of Cythera, and having left a garrison there, proceeded to the Corinthian Gulph. Pharnabazus had been provoked to these aggressions by the ravages his territory had sustained from the arms of Lacedæmon; but feeling now the expense press heavily on his treasury, he accepted the offer of Conon to carry on the war, if the satrap would lend his navy to the Athenians to enforce their tribute. One great work for their own security and the annoyance of the enemy must be first completed. The long walls of Athens were to be restored, and Conon received money from Pharnabazus for this purpose. The work was speedily accomplished, and Conon was ever afterwards honoured as having restored the bulwarks of Athenian independence.

The Lacedæmonians finding the power of Pharnabazus to injure, sent Antalcidas to Tiribazus, the new satrap of Lydia, to secure his favour. Conon and others were also sent to Sardis from Athens. Antalcidas proposed a peace, the terms of which would have deprived the Athenians of Lemnos, Imbros, and Scyros. Nothing, therefore, could be arranged; and the satrap, favouring Lacedæmon, gave Antalcidas money to equip a fleet, and cast Conon into prison as an enemy to the king. On his return to Susa, a new

satrap, Struthas, came down, who in turn favoured the Athenians. Thimbron came out and attacked the satrap, but was himself slain, and his troops conquered. Diphridas then succeeded him in command.

The Athenians hearing of a struggle between the people and the aristocrats at Rhodes, sent out Thrasybulus with forty ships to oppose the Lacedæmonians who came to assist the nobles. The Athenian general knowing it was in vain to attack Rhodes at present, proceeded to the Hellespont. He reconciled two Thracian princes, and made them allies of Athens; established a democracy at Byzantium, and landing in Lesbos, he defeated some Spartans, and the har-most there, who fell in the encounter; but having entered the Eurymedon, was attacked at night by the Aspendians and slain. So died Thrasybulus; a greater patriot than many whose career has been more brilliant. He maintained to his death the character of an honest, upright citizen; he had lived in times of difficulty and danger, and by his efforts had, to a great extent, restored peace and liberty to his country. Conon, of whom we hear nothing more, probably died about this time, but whether in the prison into which he had been so unjustly thrown or not, is as uncertain as the mode or cause of his death.

Some events of minor importance occurred before the conclusion of the Corinthian, or first Bœotian war. Chalcias, an able Athenian general, defeated some Spartans in Ægina; Teleutias, the brother of Agesilaus, surprised the Piræus—he boldly entered the harbour, and seized several merchantmen. The crews of twenty triremes lying there were on shore, and he effected his retreat unharmed; and having taken some ships at Sunium, returned to Ægina.

From different causes, most parties were desirous of peace. The Athenians were exposed to annoyance from Ægina, and the Spartans were in constant anxiety in governing or protecting allies; and deputies arrived at Sardis, B. C. 385, to listen to the terms of



Artaxerxes, declared by his satrap Tiribazus, who had now returned from court: the king had empowered him to aid Lacedæmon, if the Athenians refused to accept the peace offered. Clazomenæ and Cyprus were to be the king's, and all the cities of Asia. All other Grecian cities were declared independent, with the exception of Lemnos, Imbros, and Scyros, which were to remain as of old in possession of the Athenians. The Thebans at first wished to swear to it in the name of the Bœotians, but Agesilaus compelled them to submit, and allow the independence of all the towns of Bœotia.

Antalcidas had chiefly negotiated with Persia, and the peace was called from him, "the peace of Antalcidas." As might have been expected, it was chiefly in favour of Lacedæmon, for Athens was deprived of her Asiatic subjects, and Thebes left solitary in her power. Corinth and Argos were separated, and Lacedæmon established in her supremacy over the towns, whose independence it was the avowed aim of the treaty to secure.

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## CHAPTER XXIII.

Reduction of Mantinea—Eudamidas sent against Olynthus—Phœbidas seizes the Cadmea—Teleutias carries on the Olynthian war—Death of Teleutias—Agesipolis at Olynthus—His death—Conclusion of the Olynthian war—Capture of Phlius—Deliverance of Thebes—Second Bœotian war—Epaminondas and Pelopidas—Battle of Leuctra.

THE Lacedæmonians showed the same willingness to exert, which they had shown to obtain, power. On the ground that they could put no trust in the Mantineans, they ordered them to destroy their walls, B.C. 387; some resistance was offered, but Agesipolis, by damming the river, flooded the town, and a capitulation was the result. The Mantineans were them-

selves compelled to throw down their walls; and though irksome at first, this unwilling act of theirs delivered them from their demagogues, and, to their ultimate gratification, established them in tranquillity near their estates, and with the government in their hands.

Envoys from Acanthus and Apollonia of Chalcidia arrived in B.C. 383, to request aid against Olynthus, for this town, by its wealth and importance, was gradually becoming the head of a powerful federation. The Lacedæmonians were alarmed, and Eudamidas was sent out with two thousand men. On his arrival in Thrace, he sent home to beg that more troops should be sent under his brother, Phœbidas. This general soon set out, and on coming to Thebes, encamped near the town, B.C. 382. Through one of the polemarchs, Leontiadas, who was at least not adverse to Sparta, the Cadmea was surrendered to him. The act was connived at at home, though he was tried for the sake of appearance; while two commissioners were appointed from Sparta, and one from each of the allies, to try the other polemarch, Ismenias, who had opposed Leontiadas. He was tried on the vaguest of charges, that of causing discord in Greece; and, as might have been expected, was found guilty and executed. The government was committed to Leontiadas and his party, and a Spartan was sent to command in the Acropolis. This was the act of those whose boasted object it had been to liberate Greece from oppression; nor does the history of Athens contain one act of national treachery equivalent to this murder of an upright citizen.

Telentias was now sent out against Olynthus, and a battle took place, with no decisive result, under the walls of the town. He then having dismissed his Macedonian allies, which Amyntas, and Elimian, which Derdas, the prince of that country, had sent him, retired for the winter.

In the spring of the following year, B.C. 381, Te-

leutias was slain, and his army defeated in an engagement near Olynthus. The Spartan king, Agesipolis, was now sent out to take the command. He offered the enemy battle, which was refused, and he then took the town of Torone by siege. In the same year, B.C. 380, he died of a fever; and was succeeded in his command by Polybiades, who pressed the Olynthians so closely, that they sued for peace, which was granted them on condition of their becoming offensive and defensive allies of Lacedæmon. Thus the power of the confederacy was destroyed, and the fears of Sparta removed. In the following year, Phlius yielded to the pressure of famine more than to the efforts of Agesilaus, who for a year and eight months had besieged the place. Delphion, through whose management the town had held out so long, escaped. A garrison was placed in Phlius, to be maintained by the inhabitants.

The power which Lacedæmon had gained so unjustly in Thebes did not long continue. Phyllidas, a Theban, meeting one of his countrymen, Mellon, in exile at Athens, with him concerted a plan for a revolution. Having introduced Mellon with six companions by night into the town, they managed their design so well, that they slew both the polemarchs who were at supper, and proceeding to the house of Leontiadas, they put him also to death. They then went to the prison, and having killed the keeper, released the prisoners. At day they collected all the horsemen and hoplites, and sent to Attica to acquaint their friends there with their success. The troops which were sent for to assist the garrison were fallen on, during their march, by the Theban horse; and as the Athenians had now arrived, the harmost surrendered, and the garrison were allowed to retire. To the shame of the Thebans it must be related, that after thus boldly liberating their city from its enemies, they added the children of those whom they had killed to the number of the slain. The harmost was put to

death on his return to Lacedæmon. Cleombrotus took the command, which Agesilaus had declined, on the plea of old age; and having conquered some Thebans, and established Sphodrias as harmost in Thespiæ, he returned home.

The Athenians, from the presence of a Lacedæmonian army, began to dread a renewal of the war, and condemned to death the generals who had assisted in the revolution of Thebes. One was executed, the other escaped; but the Thebans were determined to engage Athens in the struggle. Sphodrias was induced by bribes, as some said, to make an attempt on the Piræus; nor did he seek to disguise his intention when he failed of success, and complaints were made to Lacedæmon. Sphodrias was brought to trial, but through the interest of Agesilaus was acquitted. All that Thebes had desired was thus accomplished, for the Athenians readily admitted the construction put by the Thebans upon this act of weakness, that the attack on the Piræus had the same object as the attack on the Cadmea. The indignation felt by the Athenians induced them to join heart and hand with Thebes.

Agesilaus again took the command, and having ravaged the country round Thebes, and fortified Thespiæ, he returned to the Peloponnese. In his absence, Phœbidas, whom he had left harmost in Thespiæ, after constantly harassing the Thebans, was met by their whole army, defeated, and slain.

In B.C. 377, Agesilaus again attacked Boeotia, with better success than attended the invasion of Cleombrotus in the following year, who took the command, in consequence of Agesilaus being disabled by illness. The allies of Lacedæmon having collected a fleet of sixty ships, it was entrusted to Pollis; but it was met by Chalcias, the Athenian, and defeated off Naxos. At the request of the Thebans, the Athenians then sent Timotheus, son of Conon, round the Peloponnese with sixty ships, who secured the obedience and alli-

ance of Corcyra, and defeated a Lacedæmonian fleet sent against him. Athens was again weary of a war, the evils of which fell equally, if not more, on her, while she gained but few advantages by it; and her offer of peace was readily accepted by Lacedæmon. Timotheus was recalled, but on passing Zacynthus, he landed there some exiles of that island. The rulers complained of this as an injury, and it was voted that the Athenians had violated the peace. Mnasippus was sent with sixty ships to attack Corcyra: this island had enjoyed a lengthened calm after those scenes of strife and bloodshed which were enacted during the Peloponnesian war: it was now in the most flourishing state, and in high cultivation. Mnasippus ravaged the country, and then blockaded the city. Stesicles was sent from Athens to assist the Corcyræans as soon as their distress became known; but his inactivity procured his dismissal from command, and Iphicrates, who succeeded him in B.C. 373, collected a fleet of seventy ships, with which he sailed round Peloponnesus. On the voyage, he exercised his crews, who were not select, till by the time he approached the enemy, he had fully prepared them for action. In the meanwhile, the Corcyreans, pressed by famine, had made a sally. Mnasippus had been so confident of success, that he had dismissed part of his mercenaries, and by withholding pay from others, he produced discontent among his troops. When the Corcyreans had rallied from the first encounter in which they had been driven back, Mnasippus found his forces gradually diminishing, and he himself was eventually killed and his army defeated; the remnant of his troops got on board and fled to Leucas. Iphicrates advanced to Cephallenia, which he reduced, and then to Corcyra, which he entered in triumph, and then proceeded to levy contributions with the additional ships he received from the Corcyreans.

Thespiæ and Plataea having of old refused to obey Thebes, now felt the power, if they did not the justice,

of the Theban supremacy. Both these towns were razed, and the inhabitants, who proceeded to Athens as suppliants, were expelled by the Thebans, B. C. 371. The Athenians were not more inclined than before for war, and persuaded the Thebans to join in an embassy to Sparta to make a peace. The language which had been directed sixty years before against the Athenians, was now with equal truth applied to the Lacedæmonians: the circle of events had brought them to that height of power from which they were shortly themselves to fall. The Lacedæmonians practically admitted their tyranny and oppression, for they agreed to withdraw the harmosts, and leave the towns independent. The armies were to be disbanded, and the peace sworn to by all. The Lacedæmonians and Athenians had acceded to the terms, when the Thebans suggested having their name substituted for the Bœotians in the wording of the treaty. Agesilaus denied them this, and they having declined a peace on these terms, returned home. Cleombrotus was in Phocis with his army, and the ephors directed him to march against the Thebans if they did not leave the towns independent. On seeing no intention on the part of Thebes to do so, Cleombrotus marched with his army to the territory of Thespiæ, and encamped at Leuctra.

Thebes now possessed two leading citizens, whose eminent valour and wisdom raised her to the high position which she enjoyed during their life. Epaminondas had not joined in the late revolution, but at the congress held at Sparta, he had boldly proclaimed the injustice of the Lacedæmonians; and he did not shrink from engaging Thebes alone in a struggle with Sparta, to obtain the dominion over the cities of Bœotia. His sagacity and courage were vindicated by the success of his undertakings, and he raised his country not only to the supremacy of Bœotia, but to that of Greece. He had spent much of his time in studying philosophy, and though poor in the extreme, enjoyed the closest friendship with Pelopidas, a young

man of great wealth, activity, and daring. He had been in exile, and took part in the revolution.

Cleombrotus prepared to give battle with a force as far superior to the enemy as the genius of Epaminondas surpassed his own. Oracles and supernatural signs, it was said, foretold the victory of the Thebans, which resulted from the peculiar sagacity of their leader. Epaminondas perceived that from the usual method of conducting a battle, viz. from the entire fronts being brought into action at once, the contest was decided entirely by superior numbers or valour. Though weaker, therefore, in general, he determined to concentrate his attack; and without engaging the rest of his forces, he led his Thebans in a column, fifty deep, against the right wing of the Lacedæmonians, where stood their king, arranged only twelve deep. The attack of Epaminondas soon drove the cavalry of the enemy back, and the infantry did not long withstand them. Cleombrotus himself was killed, and though the contest was renewed, the right wing soon gave way; the left then retreated. After their astonishment at being conquered was over, the Lacedæmonians sent to demand the bodies of the slain. This was all that was needed to complete the form of victory; and the Thebans accordingly raised a trophy. So terminated the famous battle of Leuctra, one of the most important fought by Greeks against Greeks; and which proved that the Lacedæmonians, who had now yielded to an inferior force, were not invincible; as they had long boasted, and been believed to be.

## CHAPTER XXIV.

Jason of Phæræ—Second Bœotian war continued—The Arcadians—The tearless battle—Epaminondas in Peloponnesus—War between Elis and Arcadia—Battle of Olympia—Discord among the Arcadians—Death of Pelopidas—Battle of Mantinea, and death of Epaminondas—A general peace.

A RELIGIOUS festival was being celebrated when the news arrived at Sparta of the event of the battle of Leuctra. The ephors would not suffer it to be discontinued, such importance did the institutions of Lycurgus yet retain. Troops were despatched under Archidamus, son of Agesilaus, to bring off the remnants of the army from Leuctra. The Thebans sent to the Athenians and to Jason of Phæræ, to request their assistance in crushing Lacedæmon for ever. From the former they got no answer; from the latter they received great promises and signs of zeal in their behalf. This man was tagus of Thessaly, of great mental and bodily powers, and had gradually become, not only lord of his own city, but had reduced almost all Thessaly to a state of subordinate alliance. His ready assistance of the Thebans was never intended to establish them in power, or materially to help them. This would not have accorded with his ambitious designs, for he entertained the bold hope of dominion in Greece.

His plans would probably have succeeded, if he had escaped the death which befel him in the year B.C. 370. He had been preparing to offer a great sacrifice at Delphi, and just before setting out, was assassinated by seven young men while reviewing his Phæræan cavalry. Two of his murderers were cut down on the spot; the others, who escaped, were received with honour in many Grecian towns, where they were looked upon as men who had destroyed a tyrant.

There were now four parties in Greece,—the



Lacedæmonians, the rest of the Peloponnesians, the Athenians, and the Thebans. The Peloponnesians were bound to the Lacedæmonians, whose success or failure liberated them from, or subjected them to a state beyond the Isthmus; while the Athenians, jealous of all, thought by establishing peace, there was less chance of either of their rivals obtaining the supremacy, which all so much coveted.

Accordingly, they called a meeting at Athens, and peace was established on the terms of the peace of Antalcidas. The oath was taken by all but the Eleians, who were unwilling to grant independence to some of their own towns. The Mantineans, conceiving they could do so with impunity, now rebuilt their town, disregarding all the remonstrances of Agesilaus, who, in consequence of the treaty, could not resort to arms. The people at Tegea having been defeated in a struggle with the nobles, gained the aid of the Mantineans, who, having been admitted into the town, tried and executed the principal leaders of the opposite party. Agesilaus was now sent with an army against them, as they had plainly violated the treaty. The Mantineans were joined by all the Arcadians, except the Orchomenians, by the Argives and Eleians. The Thebans soon after arrived under Epaminondas, having ravaged the territory of Corinth, which had observed a neutrality, because they refused to join in the attack on Lacedæmon. The army of allies, commanded by Epaminondas, invaded Laconia, and crossing the Eurotas, advanced to Sparta. Not daring to risk an attack on the city, and finding his allies gradually dropping off, the Theban general led back his forces. It was plain that the Athenians, by joining either party, might turn the scale. Deputies arrived to request their aid, and it was at length granted to Lacedæmon; partly, as it was said, because they had refused to listen to the Thebans, and destroy the city at the end of the Peloponnesian war; partly, doubtless, from a dread of the growing power of the

capital of Bœotia. Iphicrates was at once despatched with an army to Arcadia. About this time Epaminondas led his forces to Messene, called its inhabitants to liberty, and invited the absent to return. He built a city named Messene at the foot of Ithome, and, in fact, robbed Lacedæmon of half its territory; and in place of a nation of slaves, left a Theban garrison as a refuge for the disaffected subjects and a numerous enemy. He thus executed a stroke of profoundest policy, and restored to independence a fallen nation.

In the year B.C. 368, a Theban army crossed the Isthmus, and invaded Peloponnesus. They attacked Sicyon and Epidaurus, but were defeated by the Athenian general, Chabrias, and his light troops, in the neighbourhood of Corinth. The Arcadians, flushed with their successes, and encouraged by Lycomedes of Mantinea, a man of no common ability, now began to distinguish themselves by their active measures, and by the success which attended them. He advised them to insist on equality of command with Thebes, on the ground of their military superiority. They rescued a body of Argives, who were cut off by Chabrias, and were soon held the best soldiers of the time. Their spirit of independence, as might be supposed, raised the jealousy if not the apprehension of Thebes.

Philiscus, who had been sent by the satrap of Bithynia to aid the Lacedæmonians, B.C. 369, raised a body of mercenaries, which, united to the army of Archidamus, enabled him to take the town of Caryæ, which had revolted, where he put every man to the sword. Having advanced into Arcadia, he defeated the Argives, Arcadians, and Messenians, without the loss of a single Lacedæmonian. From this circumstance, this action became famous, as "the tearless battle." Pelopidas had failed in an attempt in Thessaly, and had been taken prisoner the year before. On being released, he was despatched to Susa, where, by his dexterous conduct, he obtained the assistance of

Persia in the design of establishing a peace. The Athenians were to lay up their ships, and Messene was to be independent. The Thebans now hoped by one stroke to render themselves supreme in Greece. They invited deputies to hear the message of Persia, and they came; but on calling on all to swear to it, the deputies replied they were sent not to swear but to hear. The Corinthians set the example of refusal, which was followed by many others, and thus failed the attempt of Pelopidas and the Thebans to acquire the empire of Greece.

Epaminondas was anxious to extend the power of his country in the Peloponnese, and in the following year, B.C. 366, he led an army into Achaia. Believing that no great good would be gained by establishing democracies, he made no change in the ancient constitutions, which had long been aristocratical. He then led home his troops; but so loud was the clamour raised against him by the Arcadians and Achaian democrats, that the Thebans sent harmosts, and established democracies. By this they undid the good work of Epaminondas in conciliating the majority of the nation, and raised for themselves a large body of enemies in the exiles, who recovered the towns one after another, and then naturally sided with the Lacedæmonians.

The town of Oropus, on the borders of Attica, had been seized by the Athenian exiles, aided by Themison, tyrant of Eretria. The Athenians failed in reducing it, mainly from their allies not assisting them. Indignant with the Thebans, to whom Themison had entrusted the town until it should be determined who had a right to it, and with their allies for having deserted them, they agreed to the proposal made by Lysander, of an alliance between Athens and Arcadia. Lycomedes, on his return, was slain by some Arcadian exiles, and with him ended all the hopes of Arcadia ever obtaining the supremacy.

Elis having been invaded by the Arcadians in B.C.

365, the Eleians applied to the Lacedæmonians. But Archidamus, who was sent to their assistance, was defeated and obliged to retire.

In the following year the Arcadians, who were preparing to celebrate the games at Olympia, of which they were in possession, were attacked and conquered by the Eleians: but they still remained in possession of the temple.

The Arcadians had been opposed by the Mantineans in employing the treasure of the temple for the militia, called "eparites," and they sent their own share home to the general government. On this their magistrates were summoned by the ten thousand, by which name was known the general assembly of Arcadia. On refusing to appear, they were condemned; and when some eparites were sent to take them, the gates of Mantinea were closed. But the feeling now became general against the sacrilege. The eparites began to fall off, and the Arcadian rulers in this difficulty sent and obtained an army from Thebes, on the ground that the country, if forces were not sent, would soon join Lacedæmon. Peace was made also with the Eleians. At Tegea the Theban general and all the Arcadians swore to the peace, but in the midst of the festivities following, the gates were closed, and the principal persons seized by the Thebans, and those of the eparites who dreaded being called to account. Though the Mantineans there were released by the Theban general, an embassy was sent to accuse him at Thebes. Epaminondas said the officer had done better in seizing than in letting go, and that they should soon see a Theban army in Arcadia.

The Thessalians, weary of the oppression of the tagus, had sent to Thebes for aid. Some troops were despatched, who conquered Alexander, and forced him to submit to a peace and alliance. But Thebes paid a heavy price for this victory in the death of Pelopidas, who had conducted the expedition, and lost in him a statesman and general, second only to Epaminondas himself.

In B.C. 362, Epaminondas collected an army of Boeotians, Achæans, and Thessalians, advanced into Peloponnesus, and quartered his troops at the town of Tegea. The Arcadians opposed to him (for he had assistance from four of their towns), with their Athenian, Lacedæmonian, Achaian, and Eleian allies, were assembled at Mantinea. When the Theban general heard that the last division of the Lacedæmonian forces under Agesilaus had left Sparta to join the allied army, he suddenly commenced a march on the city, but Agesilaus gained tidings of his movements, and immediately led back his hoplites. Epaminondas did not dare enter the town where he should fight at such a disadvantage, and being defeated in a sally made by about one hundred men, headed by Archidamus, he retired to Tegea. He sent his horse to Mantinea, as he expected the inhabitants would be engaged in getting in their harvest. He was right in his conjecture, but his project failed, for a body of Athenian cavalry, which had just arrived, engaged and gallantly defeated them.

Epaminondas knew that he must engage in some decisive action, for his term of command was drawing to a close. He determined to give the enemy battle, for by a victory he would save himself from all accusations, and if he fell, his end would be glorious, in endeavouring to give his country the dominion of Peloponnesus. His troops were now superior in number to the enemy, who did not dare to leave Laconia unguarded. His late failure had not diminished the confidence of his troops, and his orders to prepare for battle were received with alacrity and joy.

The enemy did not expect an attack till the morrow; and when he led down his army on them, they were not ready for immediate action. Instead of bringing his whole line into action; as he had done at Leuctra, so here he led a phalanx of his best troops against the right wing of the enemy, composed of Lacedæmonians

and Mantineans, and stationed some horse and hoplites to prevent the Athenians on the left coming to the assistance of the allies. His measures were crowned with well-merited success. The Lacedæmonians and Mantineans, after an obstinate resistance, gave way; but at the most critical moment Epaminondas fell. He lived just long enough to know that the victory was complete, and perished on the extraction of the weapon. No one attempted to improve the victory, and no important results followed the famous battle of Mantinea.

Thebes had great men left, though none like Pelopidas and Epaminondas. But it was evident that it was impossible for one state to reduce the whole of the Peloponnese. A general negotiation and a peace took place; and one good result, at least, followed on the battle. Thebes induced the allies of Sparta to allow the independence of Messenia; but through the advice of Agesilaus, the Lacedæmonians themselves refused to treat on these terms, and they were accordingly excluded from the peace.

Agesilaus himself died in Asia: he had joined a man of the name of Tachos, who had headed a revolt in Egypt; for he was anxious to take vengeance for the loss of Messene, of which the Persian king had been the main cause. Finding he could effect nothing of importance, he set out on his return, but on the voyage he fell ill and died, and his body was sent home to be interred at Sparta.

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## CHAPTER XXV.

Rise of Macedonia—Philip—His reign and death.

THEBES had buried her hopes of supremacy in the grave of Epaminondas; Lacedæmon had fallen from

the height to which Agesilaus had raised her; and though Athens was now the most independent state of Greece, she was far inferior to what she had been under Themistocles and Pericles. Torn by dissension within, and shattered by protracted struggles, each state had now retired and made way for Macedonia to play a more prominent part than any of her predecessors. This country, lying to the north of Thessaly, was not counted strictly a part of Greece, though her long line of kings claimed descent from the Temenids of Argos, and as such were admitted to contend at the Olympic games. We have not space to trace any of the earlier history of Macedonia: suffice it to say, Amyntas, at his death, left three sons, Alexander, Perdiccas, and Philip. The first of these succeeded him, and after a short reign was assassinated. In the reign of the second, the alliance of Thebes was, through the solicitation of Pelopidas, chosen in place of that of Athens; and Philip, both for the sake of education, and in the character of a hostage, was sent to Thebes. Perdiccas was slain during an invasion of the Illyrians; and Philip, at the age of twenty-three, succeeded to an uneasy throne, B.C. 359.

He was calculated, if any one was, for the difficulties of his position. Of great mental powers, he had improved his natural abilities at the house, it is said, of the great Epaminondas. He exercised and reviewed his forces, introduced the discipline of the Grecian phalanx, and having conquered the Athenians, who had attempted to set up Argæus on the throne, he declared Amphipolis free, and withdrew the Macedonian garrison from it. Thus having conciliated that people, he succeeded in establishing peace between Athens and Macedonia. He then reduced the Pæonians, and obliged the Illyrians to accept a peace.

When the Macedonian garrison had been withdrawn from Amphipolis, the Olynthians gained the ascendancy, and having provoked the anger of Philip, were

besieged by him. The town capitulated, and the inhabitants were treated with great clemency by the king. A quarrel had arisen between the Athenians and Philip, as to the right of the sovereignty of Amphipolis; for the Athenians contended that he had renounced all claim to it, while he urged that he had fairly won it. Pydna, a town of Macedonia, had revolted to Athens. It was proposed that when he had taken Amphipolis, he should surrender it, and receive Pydna in its place. The arrangements were not concluded before war began. The main object of Philip was to destroy the power of the Athenians on the North coast of the *Ægean*. The Olynthian confederacy had now revived, and it was important for either side to obtain its help: Philip took Potidæa, and by giving it to the Olynthians secured it for himself. The gates of Pydna were opened by a party favourable to him on his arrival. Methone was the only town left to the Athenians in these parts.

About the time of the surrender of Amphipolis, the Athenians conquered the Thebans, who had sent a force into Eubœa to aid a party adverse to the tyrant of Eretria and Chalcis.

In the year B.C. 357, a war, which lasted three years, began between Athens and her allies. Hardly any thing of importance occurred during the first year. At an unsuccessful attack on Chios, Chabrias was slain, who had been united to Chares in command of the Athenian fleet. In the year following, Timotheus and Iphicrates were joined to Chares in command, and on the latter urging a battle with the allies under disadvantageous circumstances, he was prevented by his colleagues, whom he sent to accuse at Athens. Iphicrates was acquitted by the people, but Timotheus was fined so heavily that he left Athens, and passed the rest of his life in Eubœa. Chares was left alone in command. The armies of Athens were now composed almost entirely of mercenary troops. Not having pay for his men, Chares joined



Artabazus, the satrap of Bithynia, who had rebelled, and enabled him to defeat the Persian monarch. He then supplied the wants of his armament, and for a time gratified the people. But when the Athenians found that they had roused the anger of Persia, and that the Phœnician fleet would soon be added to that of the confederates, they concluded a peace in the third year of the war, and resigned all power in Rhodes, Chios, Cos, and Byzantium, B.C. 355. It is said by Plutarch, that in the year before this, Philip received in one day the tidings of three happy events, —the conquest of the Illyrians by Parmenio, a victory won by his chariot at the Olympic games, and lastly the birth of his son Alexander, who succeeded him in his kingdom, and far outstripped even him in fame.

The Amphictyonic council had probably continued its meetings at Delphi and Pylæ, though we hear until now but little of its proceedings. Thebes now used its power for, perhaps, the first time for a political purpose. Its jurisdiction extended to disputes connected with international law. The Thebans accordingly prosecuted Lacedæmon for the seizure of the Cadmeia, and obtained a decree imposing a fine of five hundred talents, B.C. 354. It came so long after the offence, and was then opposed by a body who had taken no notice of it at the time, that the Lacedæmonians refused obedience, and the fine remained unpaid.

The Phocians were next attacked on the ground of their having cultivated the Cirrhæan lands, which none might apply to human use. The Thebans were supported by the Thessalians, of old the enemies of Phocis, and a decree was obtained imposing an enormous fine, which not being paid, Phocis was declared forfeit to the god. The Amphictyons called on Greece to carry the decree into execution; but the Phocians were encouraged to resist by one of their leading men, Philomelus, who declared the decree unjust, and advised them to seize on Del-

phi as their lawful possession. He was made general with unlimited power, obtained money from Lacedæmon to raise mercenaries, made himself master of the city and temple, and being supported by the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, maintained the war with ability and success, until he fell in a defeat which he sustained in the second year of what was called the Sacred war. He had throughout adhered to the profession he made to his allies, that he would not touch the sacred treasures. Onomarchus his brother was appointed to succeed him, a man of equal talent but less principle. He felt no scruple in recruiting his resources from the gold and silver of the temple, and the war was carried on with renewed vigour. He invaded Bœotia, and took Orchomenus, though he failed in an attempt to storm Chæronea.

We must now turn our attention again to Macedonia. Philip had been threatened with attacks from the Thracian, Illyrian, and Pæonian kings. Parmenio defeated the Illyrians, the king in person reduced the Pæonians, and internal discord added a large part of Thrace to the kingdom of Macedonia. Philip, however, failed to gain a footing in the Chersonese, which the Athenians had now recovered.

Methone was the only Macedonian part which acknowledged the power of Athens. Philip suddenly appeared before it; the inhabitants made a vigorous resistance, but in the end were obliged to capitulate. The town was levelled, and the territory divided among the Macedonians. Philip received a wound during the siege by which he lost an eye. A story, though with little authority, is told, that the arrow, which had been sent by an archer named Aster, bore the inscription, "To Philip's right eye," and that the king had it shot back with the reply on it, "If Philip takes the town, he will hang Aster." The story adds, that he kept his word.

Philip next proceeded to help his Thessalian friends against Lycophron, tyrant of Pheræ. The

party which he assisted was connected with Thebes; hence Lycophron was supported by Phocis. Pharyllus, the brother of Onomarchus, was defeated by the Thessalians and Philip, but Onomarchus himself conquered the king in two battles, and he was forced to retreat to Macedonia, which he only accomplished through his great military skill. Onomarchus invaded Boeotia, and took Coronea; but Philip soon reappeared, and completely defeated the Phocians, who lost their general, Onomarchus, among the slain. Three thousand prisoners were also put to death, which gained for Philip the character for zeal in the cause of piety, which had prompted the execution of the perpetrators of sacrilege. Philip was not naturally inhuman, and he must probably have been induced by the solicitations of the Thessalians, backed by his own desire of popularity in Greece, to such indiscriminate slaughter.

The war was still carried on, though languidly, by Phayllus the brother, and Phalæcus the son, of Onomarchus. Athens was now threatened with the loss of Eubœa, where the Macedonian party were gaining ground. The alarm, however, was allayed for a time by Phocion the Athenian, a man as remarkable for integrity, as the age he lived in was for the reverse. He had risen to fame under the eminent officer Chabrias, and was now in such favour with the higher classes, that many voluntarily enrolled themselves in his army. He crossed over to Eubœa, and having gained a complete victory, secured the island to the Athenians.

The Olynthians had become jealous of Philip's greatness, and by making a peace with Athens incurred his displeasure. He made war on them, and they turned to the Athenians for help.

Philip had an enemy at Athens, who was, in his own way, far his superior. Demosthenes, perhaps the greatest orator that ever lived, had by industry and patience overcome the natural disadvantages

under which he laboured, and now swayed the Athenian people with an eloquence never since surpassed. In politics he was strongly opposed to Macedonia, and now strenuously urged the people to accept the alliance of the Olynthians, and send them succour. His advice was followed, but the troops were not sent until it was too late for them to be of any service. Philip had reduced the towns of the Olynthian confederacy, and last of all, had laid siege to Olynthus itself. He was, after some unavailing attacks, admitted into the town by a party favourable to him. The greater part of the people were sold into slavery, and the town itself was destroyed, B.C. 349. Philip was now as anxious to consolidate as he had been before to extend his kingdom; and proposals of peace between himself and the Athenians were almost equally welcome to both sides.

An embassy of ten persons was sent to Philip, among whom were Demosthenes and Æschines; and a treaty of peace and alliance was formed with Macedonia. Philip now called on the Athenians as Amphictyons and his allies, to put an end to the Phocian war, and liberate Delphi. The Athenians did not comply; but the king himself advanced by the pass of Thermopylæ, and with an army of Macedonians, Thessalians, and Thebans, compelled the Phocians to submit. A council of Amphictyons was summoned, and it was proposed that all the men of Phocis should be put to death. Philip's moderation prevented such an inhuman decree being passed. In its stead it was resolved that the Phocians should be deprived of their Amphictyonic rights; their votes were to be transferred to the king of Macedonia and his descendants; three cities of Phocis were to be dismantled; and all their heavy armour and horses were to be surrendered till they had paid, by instalments of sixty talents a year, the debts due to the god. The Lacedæmonians who had assisted them were expelled from the council. So terminated the Sacred war, B.C. 346.

Demosthenes was not wrong when he looked upon his countrymen as degenerate. They were not, it is true, such as had fought at Marathon and Salamis, but still they were the only rivals of importance yet left to Macedonia; and though success did not attend the endeavours of Demosthenes to raise in them a spirit of independence, his efforts and those of Isocrates, Phocion, and Lycurgus, must ever demand our praise and admiration. They had to contend against the evils of a corrupt age, and against all the hirelings of Philip, Æschines, Demades, Philocrates, and others. Add to this, that the soldiers of Athens now served for pay, and who can wonder that she sunk beneath the firm fresh vigour of the kingdom of Macedonia, supported by Philip's consummate policy, and his mighty phalanx in the field? We propose, for we have not space to do more, simply to enumerate the remaining acts of Philip's reign. The year after the end of the sacred war he spent mainly in Thrace, occupied in founding towns, where he placed the Phocians and other Greeks. In B.C. 344, he remodelled Thessaly. He gained power in this year in Eretria of Eubœa, which attracted his attention from its contiguity to Attica. He extended his conquests as far as the Ister, while Demosthenes was employed in forming an alliance with Byzantium, Perinthus, and Selymbria, on the coast of Thrace. Phocion passed over to Eubœa, and liberated the people from the tyrants placed over them by Philip. His efforts against Selymbria, Perinthus, and Byzantium, failed, partly through the assistance afforded those places by the satraps, who knew that Philip's ultimate object was the conquest of Persia. Demosthenes persuaded the people that Philip had broken the peace, and one hundred and twenty triremes were sent to the relief of Byzantium. Phocion made such good use of this fleet, that the king was obliged to raise the siege of Perinthus and Byzantium. In an expedition which he now led against a Scythian

prince, he narrowly escaped with his life in an attack made on him by the Triballians.

Philip had now a pretext for appearing again in Greece. He was chosen general of the Amphictyonic army, which had assembled against Amphissa, a town charged with cultivating the Crissæan, or Cirrhæan plains. He dispersed an army of ten thousand mercenaries sent by the Athenians to assist the Amphissians, and suddenly seized Elateia, the key of Bœotia. The peace still nominally existed between Philip and Athens, but this proceeding declared the real designs of the king, and freed Athens from all scruples of open warfare. The feeling of enmity was mutual, though naturally greatest on the side of the Athenians, who could not doubt that Philip's real intention was their conquest, and the establishment of his empire on the ruins of their country. To gain the alliance of Thebes was of the last importance to either side. The eloquence of Demosthenes procured it for his country. Eubœa, Megara, Corinth, Achaia, Corcyra, Leucas, and Acarnania, sent troops to join the army of Thebes and Athens, now assembled in Bœotia, to oppose the king of Macedonia, B.C. 338.

Chæronea was the scene of the memorable struggle which deprived Greece for ever of her independence. The troops of the confederates were from forty to fifty thousand in number; those of Philip not much over thirty thousand. One wing of the army was commanded by the young Alexander. The Athenians had repelled the troops opposed to them, but pursuing them too far, were attacked and routed by a body of troops commanded by the king himself. The struggle was obstinately maintained, but the victory of Philip was complete. It is said that Demosthenes was present, and having flung away his shield, fled from the battle of Chæronea. Athens was not now a nation of soldiers. The spirit of Myronides breathed in Phocion, but he could not look to the old and young to follow him to the field with that energy with which their forefathers had

hastened to the plains of Megara. When Antipater and Alexander brought offers of peace, they were readily accepted.

A congress of the Amphictyonic states met at Corinth, at which Philip proposed war on Persia, and was himself chosen to command and direct the undertaking. He then returned to Macedonia. Some time before, Philip had provoked the enmity of one who supplicated for justice, and had been refused. Pausanias had been injured by Attalus, and had in vain sought redress from the king. At a time of public rejoicing, of banquets and games, to celebrate the marriage of his daughter with the king of Epirus, Pausanias approached the king and plunged his sword in his body, B.C. 336.

So perished a great king, statesman, and general. Would that we could say as much in praise of his private as of his public character. Unhappily, the vices of the man mar the picture of the king.

Viewing him apart from these considerations, it has been well said that his death was not premature. He had done probably more than his successor would have accomplished: but what he designed, probably fell far short of the deeds of Alexander.

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## CHAPTER XXVI.

### Alexander the Great.

It is impossible for us to give more than a mere outline of the life of Alexander. Simply to enumerate all his achievements, would require more space than such an elementary work as this permits. At the early age of twenty the young prince found himself in a position which would have baffled the wisdom and experience of others, but served to display those abilities and talents which gained him the title of Alexander

the Great. The profoundest of ancient philosophers had taught him those lessons of morals and politics, which remain to this day the monuments of Aristotle's extensive knowledge and vigorous understanding.

Philip's obsequies were hardly completed before the Athenians, under the advice of Demosthenes, again prepared for war. Alexander suddenly led an army into Bœotia and encamped at Thebes. The Thebans, who had contemplated expelling the garrison from the Cadmea, were thus held in check, and the Athenians, alarmed at the activity of their new enemy, sent an embassy to beg forgiveness for what they had done. Alexander received them courteously, and having invited deputies from all parts of Greece to meet him at Corinth, was appointed general-in-chief of the army, which was now to take vengeance on Persia for the invasion of Greece. The Lacedæmonians alone dissented, saying, their custom had been to lead, not to follow.

When Alexander returned to Macedonia in the following year, B.C. 335, he found that the Illyrian, Triballian, and other tribes, were prepared to take up arms against him. Having crossed mount Hæmus, he subdued the Triballians, and passing on, made war on the Getans. While he was here, a rumour of his death reached Greece. The Athenians were aroused to war by their orators, and the Thebans fell on and slew part of the Macedonian garrison in the Cadmea. Tidings came to Alexander in Thrace, and in seven days he was in Thessaly; and in a few days more, gave the Thebans battle before their gates, and overcame them. The city was then stormed and destroyed; the inhabitants were sold. Alexander next demanded the Athenian orators; but after a time was induced to relent, and only Ephialtes and Chari-demus were forced to leave Athens.

In the year following, B.C. 334, Alexander crossed the Hellespont, at the head of thirty thousand foot and four thousand five hundred horse. His army consisted of Macedonians, Greeks, northern barbarians, Illyrians,



Pæonians, and Thracians. Darius Codomannus was, at the time, king of Persia, and had hardly mounted his throne, before Alexander appeared to dispute it with him. At Sigeum, the Macedonian prince visited the tomb of Achilles, whom he was heard to envy, because he had a Homer to record his achievements.

The Persian officers in the neighbourhood of the Hellespont collected their forces to oppose him. Memnon, the Rhodian, advised them to retire, but they disregarded his counsel, and engaged the Macedonian army at the river Granicus, a stream which flowed from mount Ida into the Propontis. Alexander himself led on his phalanx against the enemy, and was at one moment in imminent danger; but he gained a complete victory, and Asia Minor was the prize of the conqueror. The Greek cities opened their gates to him, and he re-established the democracies. Sardis was surrendered to him by its governor. Memnon defended Halicarnassus in Caria for some time, but at length retired to Cos; and Alexander proceeded along the coast, receiving the submission of the inhabitants. Darius had committed the conduct of the war to Memnon, who, judging rightly that he must assail Alexander in Greece, if he wished to assail him with any effect, collected a fleet of three hundred ships with the money sent him by the king, and made himself master of the Ægean. He was beginning to raise a confederacy against Macedonia, when disease carried him off, and deprived Darius of the only general he had capable of carrying on the war.

Alexander had marched through Lycia, Pamphylia, Phrygia, and Cappadocia, and had now advanced to the Issus, a pass which leads from Cilicia into Syria. It is related of him, that at Tarsus he was seized with a fever, which threatened his death. A physician named Philippus, in whom he reposed great confidence, undertook to prepare a medicine to relieve him. A letter was, in the mean while, brought to the king from Parmenio, informing him, that Philippus had

received bribes from Darius to poison him. When, however, the physician appeared, Alexander gave him the letter to read, and, at the same moment, in perfect trust, drank off the draught. At the Issus, Darius gave Alexander battle, and was totally defeated. His mother, wife, and children, fell into the hands of the conqueror, from whom they received the most generous treatment. Damascus had yielded to Parmenio, and the Macedonian army met with little resistance till it arrived at Tyre. That ancient city stood a siege of seven months, but at the end of that time, yielded to an attack made simultaneously on every side of it, so as to distract the attacks of the besieged. Gaza next yielded, and the conqueror, as Josephus relates, pressed on to Jerusalem. He was met in the neighbourhood of the holy city by the high priest, Jaddus, surrounded by priests and Levites. Alexander bowed in adoration before him, and is said to have offered sacrifice in the temple, according to the Jewish ritual. This might have proceeded from the pious awe of an educated man, or the policy of an accomplished general and king.

Egypt now received the conqueror, and the foundations of the city of Alexandria were laid, which soon became the great emporium of commerce. Alexander's object was to form a link between the East and West. His most sanguine hopes would have been more than gratified, if he could have foreseen what influence his city was to exert over the opinions and condition of mankind.

Hearing that Darius had collected another army, it is said of a million of men, Alexander quitted Phœnicia, and crossing the Euphrates, engaged in battle with Darius near a village named Arbela. Victory, as usual, remained with the Macedonians, and Darius fled.

Babylon, Susa, and Persepolis, in succession yielded to Alexander, who, after staying four months at the latter, advanced to Ecbatana, B.C. 330. Darius had

fallen into the hands of Bessus, the satrap of Bactria, and two Persian nobles, who were pursued so closely by Alexander, that they were forced to relinquish the royal captive, whom they left on the road mortally wounded. Alexander was now, according to oriental customs, king. He reduced Hyrcania, Parthia, and the country round the Caspian. He passed through Arachosia, said to be the same as Affghanistan, and led his army over the Caucasus into Bactriana. Bessus was seized, and delivered to Alexander, who surrendered him to the vengeance of the brother of Darius. He then advanced into Maracanda, and passed a year and a half in the country beyond the Iaxartes.

In the year B.C. 328, Alexander prepared to lead his army into India. He marched in ten days from Bactriana to Candabar, crossed the Indus, and advanced to the Hydaspes. He was met at the passage of the latter by a king named Porus, with a large army; but the king was made prisoner, and his troops defeated. Alexander restored the king to his country, and added to his kingdom the territory named the Punjaub, which he had subsequently reduced.

At length, the conqueror reached the river Hyphasis, and his troops, who began to murmur, were bent on a retreat. Alexander yielded to them, after having raised twelve towers to mark the point to which he had proceeded. The army, on retiring, advanced along the Indus, reducing the nations on its western bank. Having reached the sea, Alexander began his retreat to Persia through the deserts of Gedrosia. After sixty days he reached Carmania, his army having suffered extremely in the march across the desert, and a large number of the men and beasts of burden having perished by the way. Having refreshed and feasted his army, he proceeded to Susa, and there married one of the daughters of Darius.

In the year B.C. 324, he visited the country about the Tigris, and having from thence gone to Babylon, he there reviewed his whole army. This city he in-

tended for the capital of his mighty kingdom. But in the midst of his designs, a fever, caused, it was said, or increased, by intemperance, carried him off in the thirty-third year of his life, and the thirteenth of his reign.

So ended the earthly career of Alexander the Great. At an age when few men have reached the perfection of their bodily and mental vigour, he had consolidated the kingdom bequeathed him by his father, and extended his dominion to the limits of the then known world. Yet it was not in this only, nor even in this chiefly, that he must be regarded as great. He had visions of uniting all the races under the sun in one vast nation, of raising Persia to the polished civilization of the Greeks, "of extending intercourse between distant countries, and of so enlightening and transforming their population."

Alexander's ambition was bounded only by earth's limits ; but he was, it must be remembered, a human instrument in the hands of Providence ; and when all was accomplished which his Creator intended, the designs he entertained as man entirely failed. His mighty projects were cut short by death, and his kingdom left a prize for contest by his generals.

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## CHAPTER XXVII.

*Division of Alexander's kingdom—Lamian war—Deaths of Demosthenes and Phocion—Antipater—Polysperchon—Cassander—Demetrius—Greece, a Roman province—Conclusion.*

BEFORE we return to the events which had been taking place in Greece, we will mention the division which was eventually made of Alexander's empire.

Four separate kingdoms were formed ; viz. that of Macedon under Cassander, Thrace and Asia Minor under Lysimachus, the East under the Seleucidæ, and Egypt under Ptolemy.

The intercourse of the Jews with other nations had been increased by a large number of them settling at Alexandria. For the sake of this colony, the Jewish Scriptures were translated into the Greek language, under the auspices of king Ptolemy. This was performed at Alexandria by seventy persons, and hence the translation was called the Septuagint version. Greek had become the language of the day, and thus, as a living writer expresses it, "were the temporal plans of Alexander made subservient to the purposes of God." There was a yet further and more important consequence of the conquests of Alexander. The transplanting of the Jews to Alexandria had its effect upon the nation. Philosophy was for the first time introduced among them, and new schools of interpretation were the consequence. They became acquainted with the traditions which the Gentiles had preserved of primary revelation; and the formation of sects and rise of questions of doubt among themselves was intended to prepare them for the coming of Him who should give them the true light; while the translations of the Scriptures of the Old Testament into the Greek language was a means of preparing the Gentiles also for the advent of Christ, in whom these Scriptures were fulfilled.

It is said that the history of Greece properly terminates with the death of Philip. The battle of Chæronea removed the supremacy to Macedonia, which it preserved until the Roman conquest. The fickleness of Athens still remained. Demosthenes had received, in the year B.C. 330, a crown for his public services. This had been strenuously opposed by Æschines, and his opposition led to the most memorable struggle of oratory that has ever perhaps taken place. Demosthenes, with unrivalled eloquence, defended himself from the accusations of Æschines, and was triumphant. His rival not gaining a fifth of the votes, was forced to go into exile. But six years afterwards, Demosthenes himself was banished, being

accused of having received a bribe from Harpalus, who, having plundered Alexander's territory during his absence, had fled to Athens. Harpalus, it was said, secured the silence of the orator, who was opposed to his being received, by a bribe of fifty talents. The accusation was doubtless groundless, as Demosthenes maintained it to be. But he, nevertheless, added one more to the list of citizens whom Athens requited for able and honest services with unmerited exile. He was recalled when the last effort was made against Macedonia under Antipater, who had been left by Alexander in charge of that country and of Greece. The war broke out on the news arriving of the death of Alexander, and at first the Athenians were successful; but Antipater forced them to raise the siege of Lamia, and conquered the Athenians at Cranon in Thessaly. He then subdued Bœotia, and granted Athens peace, on condition of his being recognized as absolute lord of that city. The Athenian constitution was altered, and a Macedonian garrison stationed in the Munychia. He next demanded Demades, Phocion, and Xenocrates, and the orators Demosthenes and Hyperides, whose eloquence had maintained, as it had been the cause, of the hostility to Macedonia.

Archias, who gained the name of "exile-hunter," captured Hyperides in Ægina, and sent him to Antipater, by whom he was put to death. Hearing that Demosthenes was in the temple of Poseidon in the island of Calauria, he proceeded thither. The orator begged a short delay, while he wrote a letter to his friends at home. The request was granted, and Demosthenes putting the end of the reed to his mouth, retained it there as if in thought; he then covered his face and bowed his head. After a time, being reproached with cowardice, he uncovered his face, and feeling the poison which he had taken now in his veins, he rose and attempted to leave the sanctuary.

He tottered on, but fell dead before he had passed the altar. Phocion was condemned to death on an unfounded charge, and drank the fatal draught of hemlock-juice with a prayer for the future prosperity of Athens. Their countrymen, when too late, repented, and granted them all the honour in their power. Statues were erected to their memory. That of the orator bore this inscription—"Had but the strength of thy arm, Demosthenes, equalled thy spirit, never would Greece have sunk under the foreigner's yoke." But the regret was too well founded, and the chains which bound Greece to Macedonia were now more firmly riveted.

After the Lamian war, Antipater passed into Asia, and died soon after his return to Macedonia, leaving Polysperchon to succeed him in his office. His son Cassander conceived Antipater's power hereditary, and after a struggle, made himself master of the kingdom. He engaged in war with Antigonus, one of Alexander's generals, to whom Pamphylia, Lycia, and Phrygia, had been committed, and who before had been friendly to him. Aided by Ptolemy, Seleucus, and Lysimachus, he gained a great victory at Ipsus in Phrygia, in the year B.C. 301. Antigonus died from the wounds he received in battle; and Cassander's death was only three years later. His son Antipater was put to death by Demetrius the son of Antigonus, who ascended the throne of Macedonia in his stead. He was in his turn driven from his kingdom by Pyrrhus the Epirote, who reigned in his place. In the year B.C. 280, he passed into Italy to assist the Tarentines against the Romans.

In the year B.C. 279, the Gauls invaded Greece under Brennus, but were defeated at Delphi, and their general slain. Few of the invaders quitted Greece alive.

In the year B.C. 284, the Ætolian, and in B.C. 281, the Achæan leagues were formed for the purpose of

resisting the Macedonian kings. Aratus of Sicyon succeeded in uniting his country to the league, of which he had been chosen strategus. He subsequently added both Argos and Athens to it, and made great efforts to unite Peloponnesus in one firm body, and so deliver it from the power of Macedonia.

But all endeavours to raise Greece, or one state of it, to real independence, were fruitless. In B.C. 197, Macedonia was conquered by the Romans, and the Grecian states were declared independent. But it was only a transfer of dominion from Macedon to Rome; and in B.C. 146, Greece was reduced to the form of a Roman province, and called Achaia; some towns, such as Athens and Delphi, being allowed a shadow of freedom. From this period the history of Greece belongs properly to that of Rome.

It was overrun by the Goths in the year of our Lord 287; and having been successively occupied by the Crusaders and the Venetians, in later times it fell into the hands of the Turks, under Mahomet the Second, on the conquest of Constantinople, A.D. 1453. Once again, in our own days, has it been restored to a nominal independence.

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A foreigner sits on the throne of Greece, and his kingdom is the lowest of the nations. A deep though melancholy lesson it teaches us of the frailty of all earthly things! Two thousand years have passed, and failed to rob the Acropolis of all its glory: but we forget that the traces of might and magnificence are more the monuments of what was than proofs of what is; and Greece, once the land of freedom, is perhaps lower in her nominal independence than she was in her actual slavery. As we contemplate the history of nations, and perceive on all sides the tokens of their



ruin and decay, we are forcibly reminded of that period, when "the fashion of this world shall pass away," when the vanity of earthly things shall be merged in the glory of Him who shall be "all in all," and the end of time shall be the beginning of eternity.

**THE END.**

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